Towards Mainstreaming: A Principle – Practice Gap in the UK Sports Sector

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Award date:
2018

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By

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November 2018

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

Matej Christiaens

Project Title:

Mainstreaming of disability sport

This is to certify that the above-named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

08 February 2017

Project Reference Number: P41425

Certificate of Ethical Approval

Applicant:

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Project Title:

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This is to certify that the above-named applicant has completed the Coventry University Ethical Approval process and their project has been confirmed and approved as Medium Risk

Date of approval:

23 July 2018

Project Reference Number: P43080

Abstract

In the UK alone, over 13 million people have some form of disability which is set to increase in the future as a result of an aging population (Department for Work & Pensions 2018). While disability is extremely diverse, PWD have historically been marginalised and excluded from the rest of society based on the perception that they are, as a result of their impairment, different from the norm (Oliver and Barnes 2012). This is particularly true for the sport sector where sports for people with disabilities have traditionally been organised in a segregated manner from mainstream sport provision. Moreover, PWD remain the biggest underperforming group in terms of sport participation with 16.8% compared to almost 40% of the nondisabled (Sport England 2018).

Contemporary policies attempt to address this gap through mainstreaming, which is the inclusion of people with disabilities in a nondisabled environment and the provision of services for people with disabilities by nondisabled organisations. However, people with disabilities continue to participate less than other sections of the population and seldom find their way into the mainstream sport sector as the survey conducted for this research show that less than 2% of sport club membership is someone with a disability, it can be argued that contemporary mainstreaming policy has failed. Therefore, this thesis explores *the **principle-practice gap** that exists between the ambition of mainstreaming policy and action in the field*.

To gain a better understanding of the components underpinning the principle-practice gap, a conceptual framework was developed. This conceptual framework uniquely introduces the concept of ableism and integrates the target audience. Furthermore, this research adopts a dual method approach that utilises both a survey and in-depth interviews. The survey was conducted with grassroots sport clubs of both athletics and swimming. The Interviews were informed by a stakeholder analysis that identified the key actors of the implementation of mainstreaming policy in the sport sector.

Aided by the conceptual framework, this research shows the difficulties faced in relation to the implementation of mainstreaming policy in the UK grassroots sport sector. One key finding is the limitation caused by disability illiteracy in the sport sector and broader society in general. It is assumed that the historical background of disability in combination with disability illiteracy are important underlying causes of the prevalence of ableism in society. This is heavily evidenced by the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD in addition to a lack of understanding in what constitutes accessibility and a lack of knowledge and experience of coaches with coaching PWD. Furthermore, this study highlights the differences between policy intent and the expectations of the target audience. However, the study also highlighted a positive change in attitudes towards disability and mainstreaming, in particular the ideas of creating a mutual identity based on sport rather than on the distinction between being disabled or nondisabled and the establishment of hybrid sport clubs are promising for the future.

This thesis attempted to bring together the socio-political fields of sport and disability studies. Through the combination of these fields, and by grounding them in a robust conceptual framework, it is hoped that this research will add positively to the literature and raise awareness regarding the issues faced by people with disabilities seeking to participate in sport.

Keywords: Mainstreaming, policy implementation, sport policy, disability sport, grassroots sport, United Kingdom, athletics, swimming, ableism

Dedication

Dedicated to the memories of my grandparents, Oma and Pepe; Maraine and Bompapa, who were wonderful people that managed to bring a flair of magic to this world.

I will beat the odds
I can go the distance
I will face the world
Fearless, proud and strong
(Hercules, Disney)

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge the help afforded to me during the process of this research. Firstly, thank you to the individuals who gave their time and showed interest in the study and agreed to be interviewed, without your support and participation this project would not have been possible and our understanding of mainstreaming poorer.

I am grateful to the Centre for Business in Society of Coventry University who provided me with a full-time scholarship that allowed me to do this PhD. I also gratefully acknowledge their financial support that allowed me to attend international conferences and doctoral schools.

A very special gratitude goes to my supervisory team for their patient guidance, encouragement and advice. They never lost faith and remained supportive throughout my doctoral journey. Special thanks goes to Dr Ian Brittain who provided me with opportunities to work on various research projects and to participate in doctoral schools all over the world; Dr Benoit Seneaux who engaged me in teaching opportunities; and Dr Donna Wong whose positivity helped me with staying motivated.

Lastly, I would like to thank my amazing family for their support and encouragement throughout my study. Especially my parents who have supported me throughout the choices I have made, even when they led me thousands of miles away from home.

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List of Abbreviations, Acronyms and Name Changes

ADA	Americans with Disabilities Act
ASA	Amateur Swim Association
BALASA	British Amputee & Les Autres Sport Association
BASA	British Amputee Sports Association
BCODP	British Council of Disabled People
BME	Black and Minor Ethnicity
BPA	British Paralympic Association
BPSS	British Paraplegic Sport Society
BSAD	British Sport Association for the Disabled
CCPR	Central Council of Physical Recreation
CCRPT	Central Council of Recreative Physical Training
CCT	Compulsory Competitive Tendering was introduced
CoE	Council of Europe
CP	Cerebral Palsy
CP Sport	Cerebral Palsy Sport
CPD	Continuing professional development
CRPD	UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006
CRPS	Complex Radio Pain Syndrome
DCMS	Department for Communication, Media and Sport
DES	Department for Education and Science
DNH	Department of National Heritage
DRC	Disability Rights Commission
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EA	England Athletics
EFDS	English Federation of Disability Sport
EPC	European Paralympic Committee
EQA	Equality Act 2010
EU	European Union
GB	Great Britain
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAAF	International Association of Athletics Federations
ICF	International Classification of Functioning, Disability and health
IFI	Inclusive Fitness Initiative
INAIL	l'Assicurazione contro gli Infortuni sul Lavoro
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IOS	Institute of Swimming
IPC	International Paralympic Committee
ISR	Independent Sports Review
LGBTQ+	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and other spectrums of sexuality and gender
LOCOG	London Organising Committee of the Olympic Games
MENCAP	Mentally Handicapped

NDSO	National Disability Sport Organisation
NGB	National Governing Body of sport
NGSO	non-governmental sport organisations
NHS	National Health Service
NSO	National Sport Organisation
NSB	National Standards Body
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ofqual	Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PWD	Person with a disability / People with disabilities
Sport+	Sport and Recreation Alliance
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation
VSC	voluntary sports clubs
W3C	World Wide Web Consortium
WAI	Web Accessibility Initiative
WCAG	Web Accessibility Guidelines
WHO	World Health Organisation
WVF	World Veteran's Federation
WW II	World War two

Name Changes

Old name	New name
Sport Coach UK	UK Coaching
ASA – Amateur Swim Association	Swim England
EFDS – English Federation of Disability Sport	Activity Alliance
IPC Athletics World Championships	World Para Athletics Championships

Chapter 1 Introduction

This research project is a sociological investigation into the policy processes underlying the implementation of policy in the UK sport sector. More specifically, the aim of this study is to provide a better understanding into what factors and processes are responsible for the principle-practice gap in the UK grassroots[1] sport sector in relation to the inclusion of people with disabilities (further referred to as PWD) in a nondisabled sport environment, termed mainstreaming. For the purpose of this study, when the term "grassroots" is used, it refers to the non-elite level of sport participation.

The thesis aims to provide an insight into the principle-practice gap affecting mainstreaming policy through the example of grassroots swimming and athletics. It focusses on the experiences and perceptions of key actors and PWD. Throughout this thesis, (key) actors refers to the organisations and their representatives that were identified through a stakeholder analysis (see Chapter 5) and are considered to have a significant impact on the various stages[2] of mainstreaming policy. The intention is to find out more about a relatively under-researched area within the fields of both sport and disability studies. Consistent with current research in the field of disability (Brittain 2002, Sellevoll 2016), this study is predominantly set within the social model of disability, highlighting the ways that societal perceptions of disability influence the implementation of mainstreaming policy. A final point of clarification in relation to the content of this thesis is that information has been updated up to and including April 2018. Therefore, any developments which may have occurred after this date are not included. In order to meet these research aims, a number of more concrete objectives can be outlined:

- To establish the key characteristics of the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy;
- To provide a better understanding of the components and their interrelationship as they relate to the principle-practice gap;
- To provide a better understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming policy;

[1] The term grassroots is used because sport clubs are distinct local phenomena (Stenling 2015). This means that the majority of sport clubs activity is local and their recruitment basis, e.g. participants, volunteers, inter-organisational relationships are found in their local communities.
[2] Policy creation/translation/implementation and the target audience.

- To assess the congruence of mainstreaming policy and the implementation of it with the expectations and experiences of PWD.

1.1. Context and importance of the study

It is estimated that there are more than one billion PWD in the world, approximately ten to fifteen per cent of the population (WHO/World Bank 2018). In the UK alone, over 13 million people have some form of disability[3], which is set to increase in the future as a result of an aging population (Department for Work & Pensions 2018)[4]. While disability is extremely diverse, PWD have historically been marginalised and excluded from the rest of society based on the perception that they are, as a result of their impairment, different from the norm (Oliver and Barnes 2012). Over the past thirty years, the life chances and opportunities for many PWD has dramatically changed alongside the terminology used to describe individuals who are considered to have an impairment. Language around disability is constantly evolving as awareness and attitudes change, however, disability remains a sharply contested term and concept with diverse interpretations and meanings in different cultures and countries. At present, there are two main types of language used to refer disability, person-first language (e.g. PWD) and identity first language (e.g. disabled people) (cf. Sinclair 2013, Snow 2007). In this study, the term "PWD" is used as it, first and foremost, emphasises their humanity while disability comes second as one of many characteristics rather than as the main aspect of their humanity. In this regard, the term "nondisabled" is used and not "able-bodied", as the latter implies that PWD are not "able" and that their disability is a consequence of their physical impairment.

Perhaps a turning point initiating societal change in relation to perceptions and attitudes towards disability happened in the 1970s when disability activists created the foundation of the social model of disability. The social model, as opposed to the medical model of disability, emphasises that disability is socially constructed and, in doing so, initiated a shift away from people being regarded as disabled by their impairment, towards disability due to oppression by society. The social model of disability gained traction throughout the 1990s and arguably

[3] This account to approximately 22% of the UK population.

[4] It must be noted that both global and national estimates are based on partial data available. Additionally, the data is influenced by the specific national context in which different methods of measurements are utilised (see Purdam et al. 2008) and different definitions of disability are adopted (cf. Great Britain Parliament 2010: 4, United Nations 2012: 3).

dominates recent disability politics in Britain (Shakespeare and Watson 2002). This is shown in critical policy documents such as the Education Act 1981, the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) 1995/2005 later the Equality Act (EQA) 2010 and Fulfilling Potential: A Disability Strategy 2013. These policy documents show a shift from segregation towards integration of PWD in mainstream society.

A similar shift has been observable in disability sport. Historically, PWD had limited opportunities for organised sport competition (DePauw and Gavron 2005) and there is little evidence of organised sport for PWD prior to World War II (WW II) (Brittain 2012a). However, over the past thirty years, disability sport has changed from a focus on rehabilitation to competition and sport for sport's sake (DePauw and Gavron 2005). Since PWD have entered the sporting world, various terms have been used to represent their involvement. These terms often stem from the perspective of the nondisabled sport world, for example, handicapped sport, adapted sport, disabled sport or sport for the disabled (DePauw and Gavron 2005). These terms often imply a sport context designed for athletes with disabilities and, in some cases, the type of disability (Shapiro and Pitts 2014). However, such terms generally do not accurately reflect the broad range of activities that PWD engage in. That is to say, these terms do not take into account sport that includes both athletes with disabilities and those without disabilities, which is the focal point of this study. Considering that disability sport is "meant to give equal weight to each word and 'disability' is not meant as an adjective to Sport" (Doll-Tepper and Scoretz 1997), the term *disability sport,* as used in this thesis, refers to the broadest context of sport participation by PWD. This includes sport that has been specifically designed for PWD (e.g. goalball), mainstream sport that has been adapted to include PWD (e.g. seated throwing in athletics) and sport that requires little or no modification to allow individuals with disabilities to participate (e.g. swimming).

The enormous benefits of physical activity have been widely recognised but are currently not experienced by the entire population. The pleasure and excitement that often derives from physical activity can be regarded as sufficient reasons in themselves for participation and are situated within the ideology of s*port for sport's sake*. However, sport also serves a more practical purpose which often forms the basis for government interest in sport. For example, research has shown that regular physical activity is key to preventing and treating noncommunicable diseases such as heart disease, stroke, diabetes, cancer and regulating weight, while also instrumental in alleviating depression and contributing to a positive sense of well-being (Kruk

2007, Mammen and Faulkner 2013, Winzer et al. 2018). Additionally, sport is used as a tool to achieve broader social objectives, *sport for good*, such as promoting diversity and social inclusion (Kelly 2010, Spaaij et al. 2016), to tackle crime and drug use (Cameron and MacDougall 2000, Crabbe 2000, Smith and Waddington 2004) and even peace-making and peacekeeping (Parry 2012).

As a result of increasing visibility of PWD and change in societal attitudes and behaviours towards PWD a multitude of disability sport organisations have been established (DePauw and Gavron 2005). However, a government review of disability sport, which criticised the lack of coordination between the growing number of disability sport organisations, called for a shift of responsibility for disability sport away from disability sport organisations towards mainstream sport provision (Minister for Sport Review Group 1989). To this end, Sport England have made policy statements accepting that PWD should be able to enjoy similar opportunities as their nondisabled peers. In doing so, they have emphasised the responsibility of National Governing Bodies of sport (NGBs), who have historically catered only for nondisabled people to deliver on sport for PWD. With this shift in responsibility, the idea of sport participation by PWD in a nondisabled environment, termed mainstreaming, gained traction. This shift developed further with the publication of: "A sporting Future for All: The Government's Plan for Sport" in 2001. However, it was not until 2008 with the publication of Sport England's "Disability Policies" that funding received by NGBs was linked to their responsibility of catering for PWD.

Despite this increased interest by the government and change in perceptions and attitudes, PWD still face widespread barriers in accessing services, such as health care, education, employment and sport participation while also experiencing exclusion from everyday life activities that are taken for granted by the nondisabled (WHO/World Bank 2011). This marginalisation is also evident in sport which remains widely characterised by segregation as demonstrated by the existence of the Paralympic Games. Furthermore, this inequality is also evident at the recreational level where PWD typically enjoy far fewer opportunities to participate in organised sport than the nondisabled (Sport England 2000, 2018). This is reflected in sport participation statistics collected annually by Sport England which identified PWD as the biggest underperforming group[5] in comparison to the nondisabled. Data from the most recent active

[5] Other identified underperforming groups include woman, BME, LGBTQ+ and people from the lower social grades.

people survey[6] indicates that only 16.8% of PWD participate at least once a week in physical activity compared to almost 40% of the nondisabled (Sport England 2018). In fact, sport participation by PWD is at its lowest point since 2009. This is despite the increased interest of the government in disability sport and, particularly, its strategy of mainstreaming which is the focal point of this study. Moreover, the disparity is even steeper when looking at sport participation in mainstream sport clubs. The survey conducted for this study indicates that barely one per cent of sport club members in the sample identified as having a disability. This provides evidence of the gap between government intent and policy and the situation in the field where PWD do not seem to find their way into mainstream sport clubs. Moreover, the idea of mainstreaming is supported by PWD as a survey conducted by the English Federation for Disability Sport (EFDS) (2013) indicated that 64% of PWD would prefer to take part in sport and physical activity with a mix of PWD and nondisabled people.

Despite its relatively short history, its increasing prominence in the world of modern sport and the perceived failure of policy, there is currently very little literature that has explored the implementation of disability sport policy and the associated issues that surround it. For example, Shapiro and Pitts (2014) suggest in their work that the discipline of sport management is falling short in providing literature that is representative of PWD. They go as far as to suggest that sport management scholars and professionals do not identify the field of disability sport, leisure, recreation, and physical activity for PWD as part of the sport business industry. Furthermore, it has been suggested that disability sport has been largely ignored in the sport and disability literature (Thomas and Smith 2009) and that, with the exception of Thomas (2004), there has been no substantial analysis of disability sport policy in the UK. In fact, policy implementation is often overlooked in literature related to sports policy in general (O'Gorman 2011).

Therefore, this research explores why, despite continued attempts within sport policy to increase sport participation by PWD through mainstreaming, some grassroots sport clubs struggle to increase the number of members with disabilities and create inclusive sport opportunities. Building on policy implementation theory (Houlihan 2005a, O'Toole 2004), communication theory (Burcher 2012, Downs 1964) and literature from both the disability and sport field, this research examines the principle-practice gap that occurs between the intent of

[6] The active people survey has been replaced by the active lives survey which incorporated changes to its methodology and as such cannot be compared to its predecessor. The data of the active lives survey has not been used in this study, as data was not widely available during the writing of this thesis.

mainstreaming policy and practice within clubs. This study is important as consideration of the multiple factors influencing mainstreaming policy holistically, enables a fuller understanding of what happens between policy ambitions and on the ground practice.

1.2. How the study was conducted

First, a conceptual framework was created to structure the study and analysis of the research findings, this framework is informed by disability theory, policy analysis theory, and literature from both the field of sport and disability. The multiple methods utilised include an analysis of policy and strategic documents, a survey conducted with 46 grassroot sport clubs, and interviews with 32 key actors involved in mainstreaming policy.

The research was conducted in two distinct phases. Firstly, a survey of athletics and swimming sport clubs within the West Midlands region of the United Kingdom was conducted to provide a preliminary insight into the inclusion of PWD and to ascertain the extent of the principle practice gap. The survey, in combination with document analysis and a review of the literature, informed the questions for the semi-structured interviews of phases two. In the second phase semi-structured interviews were conducted with key actors involved in mainstreaming policy and people with disabilities. From this, the organisational perceptions and attitudes towards mainstreaming were determined and key issues of mainstreaming were identified. Furthermore, interviews conducted with PWD were used to contrast their perceptions and attitudes with those of the organisations that are meant to serve them. This assisted in the explanation of the factors underlying the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy in the grassroots sport sector.

1.3. Thesis Structure

The content of this thesis is organised into eleven chapters as follows (see Figure 1, page 7): Chapter 1 is the introduction; Chapters 2, 3 and 4 make up the literature review; Chapters 5 and 6 comprise the research methodology and the conceptual framework applied to this study; Chapters 7,8 and 9 are the findings of this study followed by a discussion in Chapter 10; and finally, Chapter 11 comprises of some concluding remarks. There now follows a brief synopsis of each chapter.

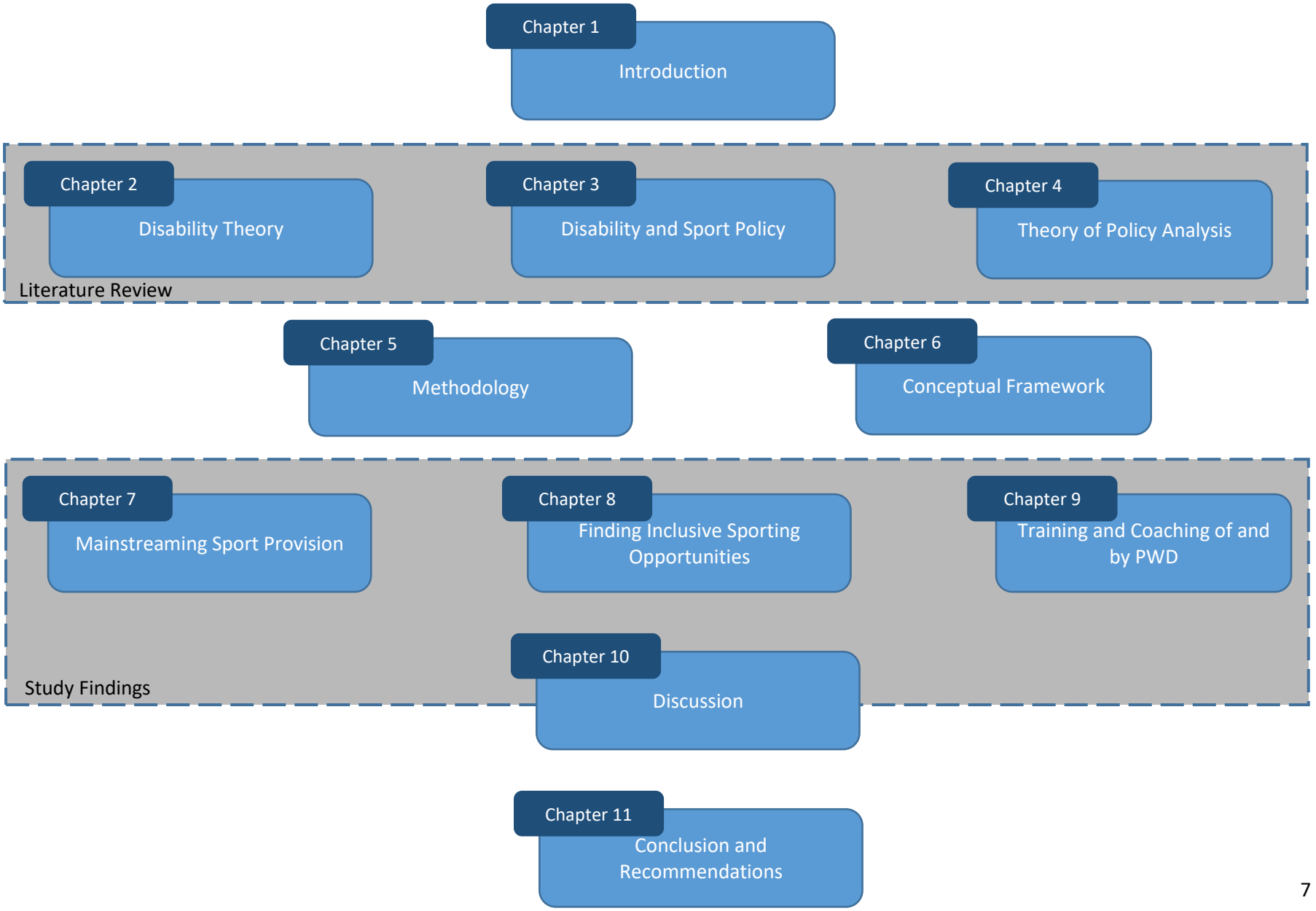


Figure 1 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter Two reviews the disability literature and explores the theoretical perspectives on disability. Disability remains a heavily contested term and concept which is understood differently throughout time and cultures. Therefore, this chapter provides a thorough discussion on the definitions and theories of disability and the meanings attached to these terms. As such, this chapter attempts to provide clarity about the way disability is understood for this research through an analysis of contemporary definitions of disability and a discussion of the shift from a dominant medical model of disability to a socially constructed explanation of disability. Culminating in a discussion of ableism which in later chapters provides a useful lens to help understand attitudes and perceptions of actors in the sport sector.

Chapter Three continues the review of extant literature with a discussion on the development of disability and sport policy in addition to the development of disability sport. Initially, it examines the involvement of the government in both disability and sport through a historical overview of disability policy and sport policy. The chapter then concludes with a discussion on the development of sport for PWD. This discussion shows how sport has changed from a rehabilitation tool to the development of disability sport organisations and sport for sport's sakes. This provides the necessary background against which this research on disability sport policy is conducted.

Chapter Four concludes the literature review with a focus on policy analysis. The purpose of this chapter is to examine theories of the state that provide insight into the relationships between the state and society. It provides context for the broader political structures and processes in which policy exists. Crucially, this chapter contrasts two perspectives on how policy implementation occurs in practice.

Chapter Five provides an overview of the methodology for this research. The chapter starts by discussing the research question and by providing a rationale for the two sports under investigation in this research. It then develops with a discussion of the epistemological and ontological positioning of the author. This is followed by an overview of the methods used for data collection and data analysis after which the chapter concludes with some ethical considerations taken into account for this study.

Chapter Six is where a conceptual framework is created to aid in the analysis of the implementation of mainstreaming policy. This chapter draws on disability theory, policy analysis theory, communication theory and literature from both the sport and disability field.

Chapter Seven is the first of three thematic result chapters that utilises the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 6 to analyse and discuss the data. This chapter focusses on the conceptualisation of what constitutes mainstreaming as the findings indicate that mainstreaming is understood differently throughout the sport sector. As such, the aim of this chapter is to provide a better understanding of how mainstreaming is perceived by key actors and the implications this has for the sport participation of PWD looking to participate in the mainstream. In addition, the chapter attemps to provide insight into some contemporary issues of mainstreaming, particularly, into the extent of mainstreaming and whether mainstreaming should/could lead to the dissolvement of disability sport clubs in the future. Additionally, mainstreaming is explored in relation to non-elite competitive sport which highlights the influence of mega-events and international competition on the perceptions of mainstreaming. Lastly, the chapter emphasises the unique position of the Deaf, who are often considered to be a language miniority rather than disabled. However, based on the findings, an argument is made that the issues the Deaf face in relation to mainstreaming and sport participation shows great overlap with PWD.

Chapter Eight, the second thematic result chapter, focusses on finding inclusive sporting opportunities. The findings emphasise the difficulty that many PWD experience when looking for sporting opportunities. They are of the perception that mainstream sport is not an option for PWD. In this regard, using data collected for this research and by using the conceptual framework, this chapter provides a better understanding into the underlying reasons as to why the mainstream sport sector is charactersied by such negative perceptions despite many sport clubs indicating in the survey conducted for this study that they are accessible. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the concept of an inclusive sport club database which could be a useful tool in mittigating some of the concerns raised throughout the chapter in relation to the negative perceptions of mainstream sport.

Chapter Nine concludes the series of thematic result chapters with a focus on training and coaching. The findings of this research indicate that coaches are characterised by disability illiteracy. The chapter provides a better understanding of the underlying reasons as to why coaches remain illiterate with regards to disability and the consequenses that this has on the experiences of PWD and coaches with mainstreaming. The findings highlight coach education as insufficient to prepare coaches for the inclusion of PWD in their mainstream sessions. Lastly, in

an attempt to provide a holistic understanding of training and coaching, the chapter explores the opportunities and experiences of PWD who are looking to become coaches themselves.

Chapter Ten returns to the research objectives identified in the opening chapter and brings together the three result chapters by linking the dominant issues of maisntreaming to the elements of the conceptual framework. In doing so, the chapter provides an overview of the key characteristics of the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy. The chapter concludes with considerations in relation to the conceptual framework itself and proposes some small alterations that could broaden its usage.

Chapter Eleven, the concluding chapter, restates the main points to emerge from this research as well as formulating some recommendations and outlining some limitations of this study.

Chapter 2 Disability Theory

This chapter provides a better understanding in what constitutes disability. This is done through providing an overview and discussion of definitions and models of disability followed by a discussion on ableism. The definition of disability is important as it considers who is included or excluded when talking about PWD. The models of disability and ableism on the other hand provide an important lens which is utilised throughout the discussion and analysis chapters of this research.

2.1. Disability definitions

Oliver and Barnes (2012) argue that definitions carry a lot of importance. Definitions and arguments become authoritative and are assumed to provide generalised explanations and justifications for policy development and interventions by health and social welfare professionals. Definitions of disability affect the way PWD are viewed and treated by organisations, administrations and the people surrounding them (European Commission 2002). With definitions carrying this kind of power, it is important to treat them with care and think about definitions before embracing them. Different definitions exist across the world. While supranational institutions have their definitions of disability, nations still develop their own distinct definitions. What follows is a closer look at three modern definitions of disability that are identified to be of interest for this research.

The first definition comes from a supranational organisation, the World Health Organisation (WHO), which is a global health organisation that takes a leading role in all issues related to health and illness. Their definition is important in that the WHO provides estimates on the proportion of the worldwide population that is considered to have a disability. The WHO defines disability in their International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health. Disability is defined as an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions (WHO/World Bank 2011). Thus, disability is considered to be a complex phenomenon which reflects the features of a person's body and features of the society in which he or she lives. The percentage of the world-wide population falling under this definition has been quite constant through the years with around 15% of the world's population considered to be disabled (WHO/World Bank 2018, World Health Organization 2002, 2011, 2014).

The second definition also comes from a supranational organisation, the United Nations (UN), which has a leading role in protecting human rights. In their effort to protecting human rights,

the UN developed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD). The convention sets out what human rights mean in the context of disability and represents a major step towards realising the right of PWD to be treated as full and equal citizens. The UN's definition of disability as defined in the CRPD reads as follows:

> "... those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others." (International Paralympic Committee 2012a: 3)

This definition is central to this research because the UK ratified the CRPD in 2009 (Department for Education et al. 2005). This means that the UK perspective of disability is influenced, in part, by the United Nations which brings us to the third definition of disability as it is defined in the UK. This definition is particularly important to this research as the focal point of this study is on disability within the UK. In the UK, disability is defined by the EQA 2010. Under this act, a disabled person is defined as someone who has a physical or mental impairment that has a substantial and long-term (12 months or more) negative impact on his or her ability to carry out normal daily activities (Great Britain Parliament 2010). While progressive conditions like HIV, cancer and multiple sclerosis are included in the definition, some conditions are not covered by the disability definition (i.e. non-prescribed drugs or alcohol addictions). There are an estimated 13.9 million PWD in the UK, accounting for around 22% of the population (Department for Work & Pensions 2018). This has significantly increased over the last five years, as in 2013 it was estimated that 18% of the population or 11.6 million people were considered to have a disability. This illustrates the trend of an aging population that sees an increase in number of PWD (Hyde et al. 2009, WHO 2011).

While these definitions are very similar, the main differentiator is that nationally developed definitions (see the UK definition) are more concrete and try to define what does not fit the description. This is a consequence of seeing disability as a welfare issue and the definitions developed are based on who should be the recipient of disability benefits, or who should be excluded from them. As such, disability is defined by public policy (Hahn 1985: 294). However, these definitions are similar in that they consider the implications for PWD in society and in doing so, they embrace the social model of disability which is further discussed in the next section.

2.2. Disability models

First, there is a need to explore what the term "model" means. Valentine (1982) and Johnston (1997) argue that the term model has been used in a number of different ways. In the case of disability research, a disability model represents a structural theory which seeks to explain phenomena by referencing to an abstract system and mechanism. While models may help explain certain phenomena, they are no explanation in themselves without reference to context. The goal of developing models is creating an improved understanding of human behaviour (Llewellyn and Hogan 2000). Considering this understanding of models, disability models are used in this thesis as a lens to better understand human behaviour in relation to disability. Additionally, it has been argued that disability models have the power to shape understanding of disability (Smart 2009). This section provides an overview of three models of disability that are being used in this research to help build an understanding of human behaviour in relation to disability.

2.2.1. Medical model – individual model

Historically, disability has been associated with religious or spiritual punishments which led to irrational fears and active domination, criminalisation, abuse, and, in some instances, extermination of PWD. Alternatively, they were seen as angelic or beyond-human, to be a blessing for others (Le Clair 2011, Clapton and Fitzgerald 1997). However, with science progressing, the doctor and scientist replaced the priest and led new ways of looking at disability which led to the development of the medical model of disability.

This model was developed in the 20th century and took roots in a well-established medical framework (Howe 2008). The medical framework centralises the normalised body. Who and what is considered normal is ideologically and politically based. Garland-Thomson (2002) describes the insidious power of such a concept and stated that normal is meant to be the centre, so that anything else is considered abnormal. As such the medical model focuses on bodily abnormality, disorder or deficiency and how this causes functional limitations, called disability (Barnes and Mercer 2010: 18, Harris et al. 1971). The foundation of the model shows causality between disease and disability, i.e. disability is a feature of a person, which is directly caused by disease or other conditions. These conditions, in this model, require medical treatment or intervention in order to correct the problem with the individual (World Health Organization 2002). Because a biological approach is used to view disability, the general view is

that the problems PWD face are the result of their physical and/or mental impairment independent of the wider sociocultural, physical, and political environment (Brittain 2004).

The medical model has long dominated sports science and leisure studies and has been highly influential in developing the normalised body (Howe 2008). Moreover, it has been argued that the medical model of disability is still dominating the perceptions people hold and the ways in which they interact in relation to PWD (Brittain 2004). This is shown in the classification systems of the Paralympic Games but also with the field of sports therapy being one of the fastest growing areas of study and employment in sports within the UK (Aitchison 2009).

In the 1970s, critique started to develop on the medical model and its view of disability as a personal problem. The medical model creates an environment in which PWD are "trapped in the individualistic view that disability is a personal problem" (Galvin 2005: 409). Furthermore, the medical model creates an environment which promotes the devaluation of the worth and citizenship of PWD (Scullion 2010). In essence, inequality is deeply embedded in the medical model and with the rise of disability movements and with a growing body of critique, a new social model of disability was developed.

2.2.2. Social model

One of the main influences in the creation of the social model of disability was the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS). UPIAS was an early disability rights organisation that established in the UK. In the '70s, activists of UPIAS created a new definition of impairment and disability resulting in the principles that led to the development of the social model of disability (UPIAS 1976). The idea of what UPIAS stands for and fought for can best be grasped in the following quote:

> "We as a Union are not interested in descriptions of how awful it is to be disabled. What we are interested in is the ways of changing our conditions of life, and thus overcoming the disabilities which are imposed on top of our physical impairments by the way this society is organised to exclude us" (UPIAS 1976: 4–5)

This quote is important for two reasons. By highlighting that society is organised to exclude PWD, it touches on the deeply rooted prejudices of our society against PWD. Secondly, it inspired a move away from the traditional medical model that viewed impairments as disabling towards disability as oppression by society and ultimately to the development of the social model of disability.

The social model was later given academic credibility in the work of Finkelstein (1980), Oliver (1990) and Barnes (1991). Hasler (1993) called this development of the social model of disability, "the big idea" of the disability movement. The social model distinguished between an impairment and disability. The impairment is the feature of a person, e.g. missing or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body. Disability on the other hand, is the disadvantage or restriction in activity caused by social barriers that exclude PWD from participating in mainstream activities (Barnes and Mercer 2010, UPIAS 1976). The only segregating factors are those that have been manufactured by a largely nondisabled social system (Shapiro et al. 2012), the process of disablement. Disablement can be understood as "social, economic and cultural barriers that prevent people with impairments from living a life like their non-impaired brothers and sisters" (Goodley 2014: 7). As such, the social model of disability provides a vocabulary to answer the issues of disablement.

While the WHO adopted the medical model in the '80s, it revised its definition in 2001 introducing the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) (World Health Organization 2002). ICF is based on the social model but takes a more holistic approach acknowledging the importance of biological and psychological factors next to the social ones. This holistic approach is called the Biopsychosocial Model of disability (Johnston 1997, Thomas 2004).

The social model now dominates disability politics in Britain (Shakespeare and Watson 2002). This resulted in a shift from people being disabled by their impairment towards people being disabled by society. The priority of policy development changed accordingly. Rather than pursuing a strategy of medical cure or rehabilitation, a new political strategy was adopted pursuing social change. This new strategy is referred to as barrier removal with a goal of an inclusive environment (Shakespeare and Watson 2002).

Within the last few years, the social model has come under a lot of criticism. It is argued that the distinction between impairment and disability is unsustainable as it is often hard to grasp where an impairment ends and disability starts (Corker and French 1999, Wall 1999). "While impairment is often the cause or trigger of disability, disability may itself create or exacerbate impairment." (Shakespeare and Watson 2002: 17). Another critique of the social model is that the social model defines impairment and disability in terms of their consequences. By doing so the social model is prone to exclude people because experiences of externally imposed

restriction can be different. For example, some people who are impaired may not experience disability, the "disability paradox" (Albrecht and Devlieger 1999, 2000).

> "impairments, because invisible, may not generate any disability whatsoever, but may have functional impacts, and implications for personal identity and psychological well-being." (Shakespeare and Watson 2002: 17)

Another critique concerns the boundaries of the social model in questioning its aim of a barrier free environment. Furthermore, this quest towards a barrier free environment has been called an "unsustainable myth", a "fairy tale" and a "utopia" (Shakespeare and Watson 2002). It is argued that removing environmental obstacles for one impairment may cause an obstacle for someone with another impairment. It has also been argued that it is impossible to remove all obstacles because some of the obstacles are an inextricable aspect of impairment and not caused by the environment (Abberley 1996, Finkelstein 1981, 1980). While these are only a few of the criticisms of the social model, more can be read elsewhere (see Barnes and Mercer 2010, Johnston 1997, Owens 2014). These critiques have heated debate about potential alternatives to the social model. One of those distinguishing itself and raising academic attention is the Affirmative Model of Disability.

2.2.3. Affirmative model

The tragedy model has been the starting point for the development of the former models of disability. The tragedy model sees PWD as victims of circumstances who are deserving of pity. Models based on the tragedy model try to avoid, eradicate or normalise disability by all possible means. The inherent assumption is that PWD want to be like the nondisabled, even though this would mean a rejection of identity. In doing so, it influenced media representation, language, cultural beliefs, research, policy and professional practice. This tragedy model is in itself disabling. It denies PWD their enjoyment of life and their identity and self-awareness as PWD (Swain and French 2000). There is a strong sense among many PWD that they would not necessarily want to live in the mainstream as it presently exists even if this is made possible (Cameron 2008). This seems to be influenced by the idea that society as it exists today, is entrenched with prejudice, which will be discussed more fully in the next section. This shows the need for an alternative to the tragedy model.

The affirmative model, arisen out of disability culture, takes a radical oppositional approach. This model is a non-tragic view of disability and impairment, which encompasses positive social identities, both individual and collective, for PWD (Swain and French, 2000). One of the

cornerstones of the affirmation model is that it is not possible to make a distinction between those who are disabled and those who are not (Lang 2007). Cameron defined disability in this model as:

> "a personal and social role which simultaneously invalidates the subject position of people with impairments and validates the subject position of those identified as normal" (Cameron 2011)

The model provides a basis for PWD to take a self-respectful and assertive stance. It provides a framework for the personal understanding and addresses the day-to-day interaction in which we are continuously engaged. This point is already made by numerous charity organisations, e.g. "see the person, not the disability" (Macleod 2007) and "Turning disability into ability" (Capability Scotland 2015). In essence, the affirmation model of disability acknowledges the positive identity PWD have and embraces the right to be the way they are, "to be equal but different" (French and Swain 2004).

2.3. Dis/Ableism

Both the social model and the affirmative model touched on prejudice in society against PWD and the process of disablement. These prejudices and the process of disablement can be seen as a deeply rooted issue in society, termed ableism. Ableism is often unrecognised as an important issue or even neglected as existing at all (Johnson 2003). Moreover, it is often overlooked in analysing why PWD have difficulties being included (Storey 2007). However, it must be noted that ableism is not disability specific, it is known to include other -isms, such as sexism, racism, ageism and disablism (Wolbring 2008). For the purpose of this study, ableism will specifically refer to the context of disability, ableism against PWD. Ableism can be defined as:

> "a pervasive system of discrimination and exclusion that oppresses people who have mental, emotional and physical disabilities … Deeply rooted beliefs about health, productivity, beauty, and the value of human life, perpetrated by the public and private media, combine to create an environment that is often hostile to those whose physical, mental, cognitive, and sensory abilities … fall out of the scope of what is currently defined as socially acceptable." (Rauscher and McClintock 1996 as cited in Storey, 2007, p. 1).

In short, ableism is a network of beliefs, processes and practises that result in the idea that it is better not to have a disability than to have one, and to do things in the same way as nondisabled people do. Or in the more practical words of Hehir:

> "… it is better for a child to walk than roll, speak than sign, read print than read Braille, spell independently than use a spell-check, and hang out with nondisabled kids as opposed to other disabled kids, etc. it is preferable for disabled students to do things in the same manner as nondisabled kids." (Hehir 2002: 3)

It is important to note that ableism is prevalent both in its active form of disablism but can also be present in a passive form (for example embedded in organisational structures). Furthermore, ableism is so embedded in society that it is considered to be normal practice. This can result in unconscious practices that are disabling of which Thomas stated:

> "Like sexism or racism, disablism can operate consciously or unconsciously, direct or indirectly, and may be acted out in social interactions between individuals or may be institutionalized and embedded in organizational structures and statutes." (Thomas 1999: 40)

Ableism is a set of assumptions and practises that promote the differential or the unequal treatment of people because of actual or presumed disabilities. In this context, deviation from the "norm" is associated with abilities characterised by one`s physical or intellectual capacity. It finds roots in the medical model of disability, as it is supported by medical, deficiency and impairment categorization of PWD. These deep cultural prejudices that disability was negative and tragic resulted in the idea that "overcoming" disability was the only valued result (Hehir 2002). This leads to a focus on fixing the person or preventing more of such people being born (Wolbring 2008, 2005).

The power of the medical profession, and in extension the medical model of disability, has played a significant role in creating many of the societal perceptions of disability that are embedded within ableism (Wendell 1996). The authority of the medical profession reaches beyond the medical institutions. Wendell suggests that their authority influences "government bureaucracies, insurance companies, courts, schools, charities, rehabilitative organizations, and institutes for long-term care". Moreover, they have "considerable authority with all types of employers, certifying people medically capable or incapable of working." (Wendell 1996: 117). This far-reaching authority has influenced internalised-ableism. Internalised-ableism is the process in which PWD themselves are encouraged to internalise the assumptions and practises embedded within an ableist approach to disability (Kearney et al. 2017). Marks said the following of internalised oppression:

> "Internalized oppression is not the cause of our mistreatment; it is the result of our mistreatment. It would not exist without the real external oppression that forms the social climate in which we exist. Once oppression has been

> internalized, little force is needed to keep us submissive. We harbour inside ourselves the pain and the memories, the fears and the confusions, the negative self-images and the low expectations, turning them into weapons with which to re-injure ourselves, every day of our lives." (Marks 1999: 25)

The social model seems to be a response to both the medical model and ableism. The social model helps explain the oppression of PWD and can help identify causes of disablism (Harpur 2012). This model turned disability-by-impairment into disability-by-oppression (Goodley 2014) focusing on physical barriers, a disabling society and culture. It is ableist assumptions and practises that turn an impairment into a disability. As discussed previously, prejudice and ableism are deeply rooted in society and culture, exactly what the social model is trying to combat. Suffice to say, the social model is challenging norms and values of society moving towards a more diverse society including PWD. Goodley summarises the impact of the social model on ableism as:

> "the social model concerns itself with the real conditions of disablism: and these conditions are material, as real as stone, hard hitting and potentially fatal" (Goodley 2014: 7)

Ableism also includes paternalistic elements of sympathy, economic subordination and acting as protectors for PWD who are "assumed to be helpless, dependent, asexual, economically unproductive, physically limited and emotionally immature" (Hahn 1986: 130). Paternalism enables society to express "profound and sincere sympathy for the members of a minority group while, at the same time, keeping them in a position of social and economic subordination" (Hahn 1986: 130). For example, assigning full-time aids rather than teaching them to get around independently (Hehir 2002).

Although prevalent in all aspects of life, it is argued that ableism is nowhere more prevalent than in sport (Stewart 1991). Sport has the tendency to privilege those who rise above mainstream standards and puts the fully human, non-modified body on a pedestal while reducing the abnormal body to an object of pity (Duncan and Aycock 2005). In the context of sport for PWD, it is the prioritisation of nondisabled sport that devalues sport for PWD even further (Brittain and Beacom 2016). Furthermore, internalised ableism has also been evidenced in sport e.g. experiences from disabled athletes, coaches and administrators in their acceptance of the status quo and disadvantaged position compared to mainstream athletes and mainstream sport (Brittain 2016, Kearney et al. 2017).

2.4. Conclusion

Disability is an intensely contested term. Not only has its meaning changed over the years, it also means different things in different cultures and different countries. Depending the era and location in which you lived, different people would be included and excluded from being disabled. Disability is a concept that finds meaning in its cultural context. However, initiated by greater knowledge of disability, a global shift can be witnessed in the way disability is defined. The western world has gradually been broadening the concept of disability which has resulted into acknowledging the social context within which disability is created. As such, there has been a shift from people being disabled by their impairment towards people being disabled by society.

This chapter helps to understand disability and provides a useful theoretical framework for further analysis. As such, this chapter is a corner stone of this research. The definitions of disability provide insight in who is considered to be disabled while the models of disability provide context and rationale behind policy decisions. The next chapter provides a historical overview of disability policy, sports policy and the development of disability sport.

Chapter 3 Disability and Sport Policy

To better understand mainstreaming policy, the focal point of this research, it is important to understand the context in which it has developed. It has been argued that policy development in a specific area is influenced by policies in related areas (Glennerster 2006). Therefore, for clarity, this chapter is divided in three parts. The first section explores the historical evolution of disability policy which starts in the 17th Century with the Poor Relief Act, which is considered as the first state intervention in the life of PWD. The review shows how disability policy changes with the introduction of the social model of disability and ends in more recent years where equality holds a central place in government policy development.

The second section explores the historical evolution of sports policy and starts with the establishment of a voluntary organisation, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training, in 1935. Since then, some influential people (e.g. John Major and the Wolfenden Committee) and events (e.g. WWII and the winning bid for the 2012 Olympics) led to an increased interest in sports policy from the government. It is through the examination of both disability policy and sports policy that a wider understanding is formed to give context to mainstreaming policy and to aid the later analyses of the findings.

The third section explores the development of sport for PWD which starts with early sporting opportunities for the Deaf. This overview shows how sport for PWD has evolved from sport as rehabilitation to sport for sport sake. Lastly, this section discusses some of the contemporary issues surrounding sport for PWD.

3.1. Development of disability policy

3.1.1. 1600-1969: Medical dominance of social policies

The period between 1600 and 1969 is characterised by the medical model of disability which dominated the social policies of this time. The view many held was that PWD were not made for the mainstream of economic and social life (Jones 2000). As such, state intervention was focussed on defining who was entitled to public assistance. With the 1601 Poor Relief Act, which is considered the first official recognition of the need for state intervention in the lives of people with perceived impairment, PWD were considered as “deserving poor” (Barnes 1997).

New rights for PWD did not come until the end of WW II which left many soldiers and civilians disabled. The 1944 Disabled Persons Act attempted to secure their employment rights and the Education Act tried to mirror this in education. Moreover, these are early signs of mainstreaming

as these acts encouraged local authorities to include PWD in a mainstream environment (i.e. mainstream work place or education). However, it was not until for 1978 mainstreaming to becomes practice and 2001 to see a law protecting against discrimination in education (Department for Education and Skills 1978, Thomas 2004).

It is clear that the period between 1600 and 1969 is very much defined by a tragedy model of disability. The general idea is that disability is a personal tragedy deserving of pity and care, preferably from the family and only when they cannot, the state. This is shown by the institutionalising of PWD and their unequal treatment (Barnes et al. 1999, Thomas 2004). A more elaborated overview of landmark events between 1600 and 1969 is given in Table 1, below.

Table 1 Landmark events between 1600 and 1969

Year	Event	Comments
1601	The Poor Relief Act	The impotent poor were to be cared for in a poorhouse or almshouse (e.g. the elderly, the blind) The nondisabled poor were set to work in a house of corrections or given apprenticeships.
1834	The Poor Law Amendment Act	Emphasised the need of families to take more responsibility for the care of PWD.
1942	The Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services Cmd. 6404	National social security scheme that required contributions of the employed to benefit the unemployed.
1944	The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act	Attempt to secure employment rights for PWD.
1944	The Education Act	Children with disabilities have the right to be educated alongside their nondisabled peers. Special educational treatment is to be provided for those in need.
1946	The National Insurance Act	Builds on the 1942 report, emphasises the importance of work in the paid labour market.
1948	The National Assistance Act	Local authorities must provide financial and residential support for the disabled.
1948	The National Health Service Act	Provided hospital based treatment, long term care for PWD.
1962	Health and Welfare: The Development of Community Care	Blue book on Community Care.
1968	The Seebohm Report	One of its conclusions was that services for PWD should relate to the nature and size of the problems of the disabled.

3.1.2. 1972-1994: Rise of the social model, towards community integration

The 1970s saw PWD rejecting the medical model and with it the general idea that PWD are too disabled to live in the mainstream (Roulstone and Prideaux 2012). A first step towards a more social approach to disability is shown in the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970 which encourages accessibility to public buildings. However, greater change came when the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) was founded in 1972 out of a desire for greater equality. They challenged the medical model of disability and laid the cornerstone of the Social Model of Disability (UPIAS 1976). What followed was a series of campaigns lobbying Parliament for better transport, benefits and rights. This battle for equal rights did not limit itself to the UK and was a worldwide phenomenon as proven with the UN Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons in 1975. This marked a general acceptance of the importance of equal opportunities for all people.

With a changing political landscape and a strong disability movement, disability policies were reformed. These reforms are characterised by a move away from institutionalising PWD and towards community-based options (Roulstone and Prideaux 2012). The Warnock report (1978) encouraged the integration of PWD in mainstream schools (Barton 1997)while the NHS and Community Care Act (1990) emphasised more generally that the community is the best place for PWD. 1970 to 1994 was a stage in which welfare policies were reformed and first steps were taken to embed the social model of disability in public policy. Table 2 highlights major events in disability policy between 1970 and 1994.

Table 2 Landmark events between 1970 and 1994

Year	Event	Comments
1970	Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act	Encouraged to make reasonable adjustments to public buildings to enable access by PWD.
1972	UPIAS is formed	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation grouped people's discontent with the medical model of disability.
1974	Disability Alliance is formed	The DA is a self-help organisation.
1975	Spinal Injuries Association is formed	A self-help organisation bringing together people with spinal injuries.
1975	UN Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons	Encouraged PWD' involvement in policies meant to serve them.
1976	Social Model of Disability	UPSIAS makes a distinction between impairment and disability.
1978	Warnock Report	Encourages the integration of children with disabilities in mainstream schools

1981	UN Year of Disabled People	International campaign promoting awareness and equal rights for PWD.
1981	British Council of Disabled People is formed	The BCODP is an umbrella organisation for self-help and disability organisations.
1981	Education Act	Builds on the recommendation the Warnock Report.
1990	NHS and Community Care Act	More responsibility on the local government for provision of social care services.
1993	UN rules on equality	UN rules on equalization of opportunities for PWD.

3.1.3. 1995-2015: Influence of the Disability Discrimination Act

Following years of campaigning by disability organisations and actions by the UN, the UK passed legislation tackling discrimination of PWD in 1995 with the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA). This was the first legislation advocating human rights for PWD in the UK and, not only covered those with physical impairments, but also those with mental health problems and long term diseases (Goodley 2011). Importantly, the DDA emphasised the need for service providers to make reasonable adjustments to enable PWD to use their services and as such embraces the social model of disability recognising that disability might be socially created. Additionally, the DDA is an important step in recognising the right of PWD to take part in mainstream society.

While the DDA took some steps to provide for PWD in mainstream society, including a positive impact on broadening sporting opportunities for PWD, it was heavily criticised for its vague and ambiguous terminology, particularly in relation to the requirement of "reasonable adjustments". This implied that discrimination was only illegal if it was considered "unreasonable" (Barnes et al. 1999). The DDA was amended in 2005 which widened the definition of who is considered to be disabled and introduced a duty to promote equality in the public sector (DRC 2007). Equality and equity legislation was completely overhauled in 2010 with the EQA that brought all legislation arising discrimination under one statute. The Act harmonised definitions and concepts and emphasised positive action. It attempted to enhance legal protection for PWD (Lockwood et al. 2012). However, the critique of its vague and ambiguous terminology remained unanswered.

A second piece of legislation that remains influential is the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2006 (CRPD)[7]. Particularly relevant to this research of mainstreaming

[7] Signed by the United Kingdom in 2007 and ratified in 2009 (United Nations 2018)

in the sport sector is article 30 of the CRPD. Article 30 aims to recognise the right of PWD to take part on an equal basis with others in recreational, leisure and sporting activities. To this end, article 30 formulates five areas[8] in which the state has to take appropriate measures (see United Nations 2006: 22–23). Furthermore, the CRPD formulates expectations regarding mainstreaming as it requires states to encourage and promote mainstreaming in sporting activities at all levels. As such, the government is expected to take steps to integrate these expectations in national policy as is evidenced by Sport England's Disability policies of 2008[9]. An oversight of important policies between 1995 and 2015 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Landmark events between 1995 and 2015

Year	Event	Comments
1995	The Disability Discrimination Act	More equality for those with disabilities.
1996	The Community Care (Direct Payments) Act	PWD gained more control over the services they needed.
1997	Disability gets treaty recognition in the EU	Article 13 law to combat discrimination on the grounds of disability.
2000	Disability Rights Commission is founded	This commission was established by the disabled and for the disabled.
2001	Special Educational Needs and Disability Act	An extension to the DDA to legislate against discrimination of PWD in the education sector.
2005	Disability Discrimination Amendment Act	Reviewed the 1995 DDA.
2006	UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)	Strives to more equality for PWD. Ratified by the EU in 2007.
2010	The Equality Act (EQA)	Replaced the 2005 DDA. Harmonised the equal rights legislation.
2013	Publication of "Fulfilling Potential: a Disability Strategy"	This document set out the government's view of a society where PWD can realise their aspirations and fulfil their potential.

[8] (a) To encourage and promote the participation, to the fullest extent possible; (b) To ensure that persons with disabilities have an opportunity to organize, develop and participate in disability-specific sporting and recreational activities; (c) To ensure that persons with disabilities have access to sporting venues; (d) To ensure that children with disabilities have equal access with other children to participation; (e) To ensure that persons with disabilities have access to services from sporting activities.

[9] Further discussed on page 32

3.1.4. Conclusion

The development of disability policy in the UK has evolved greatly from when the first legislation was passed in 1601. People with disability movements had a huge positive impact on the legislation. Not only did they successfully fight the medical dominance and practise of institutionalisation, they laid out the basis of the social model that is still guiding policy development today. The people with disability movement has revolutionised global understandings of disability (Goodley 2011). As a consequence of this shift in understanding, policies shifted from segregation towards integration within mainstream society which is the focal point of this research. Particularly important for this thesis is the EQA 2010 which made equal rights more than ever part of public policy and enshrines some aspects of the mainstreaming ideology in law. The EQA will be useful in the analysis parts of this research.

3.2. Development of sport policy

3.2.1. 1935-1972: The Wolfenden report

Arguably the development of sports policy in the UK started in 1935 in the form of a voluntary and independent organisation, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training (CCRPT) (Evans 1974). Governmental interest in sport was the result of the general opinion being that the population had an inadequate physical and mental education which was further strengthened by poor performance of the British team in the Olympics of 1936. During this time, sport was approached as an opportunity to attract global prestige by performing well in international events (Jefferys 2012). When WW II broke out in 1939, the focus of CCRPT changed towards rehabilitation because of the many casualties the war produced and sport became a tool for rehabilitation. By the end of the war, the CCRPT was reformed to the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR) and laid the basis of the post-war sports plan.

A milestone in sports development came in 1960 with the publication of the Wolfenden report which emphasised sport for sport's sake and as such guided a shift in sport policy away from sport as a tool for rehabilitation. While the Wolfenden committee did acknowledge some extraneous benefits of sport, attention was focussed on policies for sport (McIntosh and Charlton 1985). The report drew attention to “the gap”, which was the very large numbers of young people dropping out of sport when they left school which is the first sign of the government taking interest in underperforming groups in relation to sports participation. Therefore, the Wolfenden Report is considered to be the trigger for the development of “Sport for All” policies (Green 2006). Additionally, the report suggests the establishment of a Sports

Council that would promote sport for all citizens. In 1962, following the Wolfenden report a Minister was made responsible for sport and two years later, in 1964, the advisory sports council was finally established following a decision by the newly-elected Labour Government. The sports council was given executive powers and more authority in 1971 when a Conservative Government took power wanting an arms-length organisation (Coghlan and Webb 2003). However, Houlihan and White (2002) argue that this was a result of the success of the Advisory Sports Council rather than a shift in government interest in sport. Table 4 lists important developments in sport policy between 1935 and 1972 with the Wolfden Report being the key factor for change.

Table 4 Landmark events between 1935 and 1972

Year	Event	Comments
1935	CCRPT	Formation of the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training.
1937	Physical Training Act	First national fitness campaign.
1944	CCPR	CCRPT was reformed to CCPR, Central Council of Physical Recreation.
1944	Education Act	Made it mandatory for schools to provide adequate facilities for recreation and physical training. Made it a right for PWD to be educated alongside their nondisabled peers.
1945	Post War Sports Plan	Resulted in the creation of national sport centres.
1960	Wolfenden Report, Sport & the Community	Emphasises that sport needs to be run by sports people and not by the state, it suggests the establishment of a Sports Council to complement the CCPR.
1964	Establishment of the Advisory Sports Council	The Advisory Sports Council was established to advise government on sport and recreation issues.
1971	Reforming the Sport Landscape	Three organisations become capable of defining sport aims and objectives: The Government; The Sports Council (granted executive and advisory powers) and the CCPR.

3.2.2. 1972-1989: Development of Sport for All

The Council of Europe (CoE), of which the United Kingdom is part, was the first intranational organisation to take an interest in sport. When the council was set up, discussions were very theoretical without any practical implications but, gradually, in the wake of the Wolfenden report, a common European view of sport was shaped (Cryer 2012). The idea surfaced that sport should be available to everyone who wants to participate. While discussions continued on the international level, back home in the UK the government took the lead and started national

Sport for All campaigns (Sports Council 1981). In 1976, discussions proved successful and the European Sports Charter, Sport for All, was adopted. This charter broke with the politically motivated focus upon high-level sport and defined sport as a free and spontaneous physical activity, practiced in leisure time for the purpose of recreation and relaxation. This definition also aimed to promote the right to participate in sport for people of all ages, sexes and social groups (Cryer 2012).

With the launch of the Sports for All campaign, the government tried to positively change the climate and opinion of sport and physical recreation and show sport as a desirable social concept (McIntosh and Charlton 1985). Between 1971 and 1981, in the spirit of Sport for All, authorities focussed their new interest in sport on the expansion of infrastructure (i.e. swimming pools and indoor sports centres) (Collins et al. 1999). The big increase in sport facilities created a huge increase in participation rates, which is unlikely to be matched in the future (Roberts and Brodie 1992).

Notwithstanding the initial impact of the new facilities on sport participation, the Sport Council became aware of under participating segments of the population (Nichols 1997). One of these under participating groups was PWD which was recognised with the UN year of the Disabled in 1981. Accordingly, a Sport for All campaign targeting PWD was launched. The notion of "Sport for All" became "sport for the disadvantaged" (Houlihan 1991). In light of these events and a raising emergence of discussions on equality, in the following years steps were taken to engage more PWD. This focus on sport participation for PWD is the first notion of blending disability policies with sport policies. While still in a premature phase disability sport policy came on the agenda. The evolution of Sport for All between 1972 and 1989 is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Landmark events between 1972 and 1989

Year	Event	Comments
1964-1971	Sport for All	Discussion on sport for all begin at the Council of Europe (CoE)
1972	Sport for All Campaign	UK government takes the lead and starts with a national Sport for All campaign
1975	Publication of: "White Paper on Sport and Recreation"	Sport strategy of the Department of the Environment. Focus on the coordination of sports provision.
1976	Sport for All Charter	The CoE comes to an agreement and the Sport for All Charter is developed. It is a commitment to create opportunities for every person to participate in sport.
1978	International Charter on Physical Education	Enacted by UNESCO.

1981	UN year of the Disabled	Strengthens the disability movement. A national sport for all campaign is launched targeting PWD.
1983	Publication of: "Sport in the Community – the Next Ten Years"	A strategy document of the Sports Council, which emphasised access for disadvantaged groups. For the first time, targets are set for increased participation.
1986	Sport for All - Disabled People	CoE drafted a new chapter, in addition to their Sport for All Charter, emphasising the rights of PWD in sport.
1988	Compulsory Competitive Tendering was introduced	CCT encouraged the privatisation of sports facilities.

3.2.3. 1989-2005: John Major's revolution of sport

After the significant facility development of the 1970s, priority shifted towards disadvantaged groups in the 1980s. In combination with a growing disability movement, this led to the establishment of numerous disability sport organisations. However, a government review of disability sport in 1989 criticised the lack of co-ordination between the growing number of disability sport organisations (Minister for Sport Review Group, 1989). The government was concerned about the limited resources available and called for a shift of responsibility for disability sport away from disability sport organisations and to the mainstream sport providers. This is the first notion of mainstreaming in sport policy as public policy for disability sport stresses a need for greater integration of disability within mainstream provision. While there was a positive effect with some mainstream sport organisations offering opportunities to PWD that were previously only available to the nondisabled, many of the recommendations made by the sport review group were never implemented (Marshall as cited in Thomas 2004). Following Price (as cited in Thomas 2004), there was a clear lack of commitment from the Sports Council and mainstream sport providers while disability sport remained a long way down on the list of government priorities.

The sport sector saw great change in 1990 with newly elected Prime Minister John Major who showed a personal interest in sport. John Major revolutionised sport in the UK with his strategy laid out in "Sport Raising THE Game". He moved the governmental focus towards school sport, he wanted to turn around the decline of sport in schools, and elite performance (Major 1995). John Major said the following about his ambitions for school sport:

> "My ambition is simply stated. It is to put sport back at the heart of weekly life in every school. To re-establish sport as one of the great pillars of education alongside the academic, the vocational and the moral. It should never have been relegated to be just one part of one subject in the curriculum. For complete

> education we need all of those four pillars of school life to be strong." (Major 1995: 2)

Accordingly, the sports landscape was reformed and the Sports Council was abolished while two new organisations were founded, UK sport for Elite performance and Sport England for grassroots and school sport which are still responsible for sport to date. However, arguably the most important accomplishment of John Major was finding a new way to fund his ambitious sports plans. He sanctioned the establishment of the National Lottery from which the profits would go to sport development as they still do today.

Funding for sport saw another increase following the re-election of Prime Minister Tony Blair in 2001 and a renewed interest in sport from his Labour Government. Within his next term, the direct treasury funding for sport doubled between 2001 and 2005 (Jefferys 2012). Alongside the increased funding, the government published "A Sporting Future for All: The Government's Plan for Sport" in 2001 which emphasised the need for more action in regard to underperforming groups. Particularly important to this research, this governmental strategy emphasised the need for NGBs to address equity in sport and improve inclusion. Moreover, from 2001 onwards Sport England made the development and promotion of equity and inclusion a prerequisite for funding (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2001). In essence, with Sport England adopting an inclusive vision, mainstreaming becomes a requirement for NGBs and, consequently, for voluntary clubs. In doing so, Sport England laid the foundations of mainstreaming policy in the sport sector which is under investigation in this research. The landmark events between 1990 and 2005 are summarised in Table 6, below.

Table 6 Landmark events between 1990 and 2005

Year	Event	Comments
1989	Minister for Sport Review Group	Criticised the lack of coordination between a growing number of disability sport organisations. Proposes that mainstream sport provision integrates disability sport to make better use of resources.
1991	Responsibility for sport policy transferred to DES	John Major's government moved sport policy to the Department of Education and Science to improve the relationship between sport and education.
1992	Responsibility for sport policy transferred to DNH	Increased interest in sport by the government, moved sport responsibility to the Department of National Heritage (DNH)
1992	Revised Sport for All Charter	Revision of the Sport for All Charter by the Council of Europe. Aims to enable every

		individual to participate in sport and to protect and develop the moral and ethical bases of sport.
1992	The National Curriculum Physical Education	The first national curriculum for physical education
1993	Publication of: “PWD and Sport: Policy and Current/Planned Action”	Publication by the Sports Council
1994	Introduction of the National Lottery	Made funds available for sports development
1995	Disability Discrimination Act	Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom which made it unlawful to discriminate against PWD in relation to employment, education, transport and the provision of goods and services
1995	Publication of: “Sport: Raising THE Game”	John Major's policy confirmed government interest in elite sport, school sport and national teams.
1997	Sports council is abolished and replaced by UK sport and Sport England	UK Sport became responsible for elite sport and Sport England for national policy and development.
1997	Responsibility for sport policy transferred from DNH to DCMS	The creation of the Department for Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) signalled the Labour government’s increased interest in sport.
1997	Establishment of Disability Sport England	The British Sports Association for the Disabled was established as a result of a growing disability movement and equality being more debated throughout the 90s. Disability Sport England was established to focus on sport opportunities for PWD.
2000	Publication of: “A Sporting Future for All”	Provides a comprehensive policy which reinforced the previous government's interest in school and elite level sport. It emphasises the need for talent pathways for PWD to remain a top nation in the Paralympic Games.
2000	Publication of: “Making English Sport Inclusive”	Publication by Sport England on equity guidelines for governing bodies.
2001	Report of Disability Survey 2000	Shows that PWD are underperforming on sport participation.
2001	Publication of: “A sporting Future for All: The Government’s Plan for Sport	The government emphasises the need for NGBs to address equity and improve inclusion within its sport.
2002	Publication of: “Game Plan”	The plan provides a clear directive for NGBs to achieve better business practice, coaching, infrastructures and to improve inclusion in their sport.

3.2.4. 2005-2012: London 2012 and austerity

Sport policy experienced further change in 2005 when the United Kingdom secured its most high-profile success in sport policy, winning the right to host the 2012 Olympics (Jefferys 2012). However, society was also in the midst of an obesity crisis, "so severe that our children face being the first generation ever not to live longer than their parents" (Independent Sports Review 2005: II). As a result, the government focussed around these two issues over the next years when developing sport policy resulting in a top priority of elite sport and mass participation. This is exactly what "Playing to Win" was all about, a plan to get more people taking up sport by changing attitudes which was intended to feed into elite performance. Although this plan came at the expense of sport as a social intervention tool (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2008), Sport England continued to strive for greater equality and remained in support of mainstreaming. This is shown by their publication of "Disability Policies" in 2008 that laid out their new disability sport strategy. Importantly, as part of this strategy, Sport England remained putting increasing pressure on the governing bodies to perform more and better on mainstreaming. The landmark events between 2005 and 2012 are shown in Table 7, below.

Table 7 Landmark events between 2005 and 2012

Year	Event	Comments
2005	Publication of: "Raising the Bar"	Final report of the Independent Sport Review.
2005	Successful bid for the 2012 London Olympics	The UK won the bid to host the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics in London.
2007-2008	Financial Crisis	Implementation of austerity measures were implemented from late 2008 onwards.
2008	Publication of: "Playing to win: a new era for sport"	Strategy laid out by the DCMS. A switch of focus towards elite sport, to maximise performance in the Olympic Games, and mass participation, to tackle the growing obesity crisis. This ambitious plan set a goal to increase participation from 30% in 2002 to a staggering 70% by 2012. This turned out to be far from realistic as policy did not manage to perform anywhere close to its goals.
2008	Sport England - Disability policies	Sport England pressure Governing bodies to perform more on disability integration and deliver more on disability sport.
2010	Austerity	Following the general elections and the formation of a coalition government between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats austerity measures are taken in the form of budget cuts. These cuts placed question marks on the sustainability of the ambitious and expensive sports plan of the former government

		(Jefferys 2012). Moreover, Gratton and Kokolakakis (2012) found evidence suggesting that the recession has a negative impact on mass sport participation. They argued that it is not a lack of inspiration of the Olympics, but the cuts in budgets and the recession that played a big role in the lack of achievement in sport participation increases.
2011	School Games and Project Ability	School Games and Project Ability are projects to inspire young people in primary and secondary schools to play more competitive sport.

3.2.5. 2012-Present: Creating a sporting habit for life

With the bid for the Olympics 2012, the UK attempted something that no other nation had yet achieved, to create a lasting participation legacy (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2012). Following this commitment, the government published "Creating a sporting habit for life". While this new strategy focussed on raising the proportion of 16- to 25-year-olds that regularly take part in sport, the overall aim was to create a habit out of sport that would last a lifetime. However, it is documented that the government is not pleased with the sport participation figures, which shows a decrease in participation since the Olympics and Paralympics 2012 (UK Government 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2015). This has sparked a renewed interest in underperforming groups in addition to a continued focus on elite performance as shown with the latest publication of "Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation" by the DCMS in 2015 and the publication of: Towards an Active Nation by Sport England in 2016.

While the new governmental strategy, as reflected in the publication of "Sporting Future", aims to take a new approach to sport, it defined five desirable outcomes of their sport strategy which are: Physical Wellbeing; Mental Wellbeing; Individual Development Social and Community development; and Economic Development. However, despite this new approach, the underlaying outputs have remained largely the same with a focus on elite sport and increasing sport participation[10] which is acknowledge within the strategy:

> "For more than a decade, the government's policy on sport has been to get more people participating in sport and to win more Olympic and Paralympic medals. Both of these are valuable, and will remain part of this new strategy." (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2015a: 16)

[10] The third output underlaying the outcomes is good governance.

However, the new strategy does recognise the participation gap of PWD and emphasises that they are twice as likely to be inactive as non-disabled people. Moreover, the strategy also notes that half of PWD are over 60 years old, showing the intersectionality between both the underperforming group of PWD and the elderly. It also emphasises the role of Sport England and the EFDS in realising the objectives as outlined in this strategy. Accordingly, Sport England's strategy, as outlined in the publication of "Towards an active nation: Strategy 2016-2021" (Sport England 2016), emphasises the aim of increasing sport participation and particularly in relation to under-represented groups. However, they did trial a different approach towards engaging people with disabilities within sport. Rather than continuing to work with sport organisations they trialled working with a mental health charity, Mind, which had over 36.000 inactive people taking part with over half of them still being active three months after the program had ended. This indicates a continued interest of Sport England in sport for PWD and the emphasis of their current strategy which considers sport as a tool to achieve social good. An overview of important events and publications are shown in Table 8 in addition to a selection of major events hosted since London 2012[11].

Table 8 Landmark events from 2012 onwards

Year	Event	Comments
2012	Publication of: "Creating a sporting habit for life"	Sport strategy of the DCMS to engage more young people in sport.
2012	Publication of: "A Sporting Habit for Life"	Strategy laid out by Sport England, shows a continuation of a focus on the transition from school to college, university, work and beyond. Shows a remained focus on young people between, particularly those between 14- and 25-year-old.
2013-2023	Gold Event Series	Prestigious project initiated by the DCMS which has as goal to attract top level international sporting events between 2013 and 2023. Since the start, it has attracted 59 major events that will be hosted during this time (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2015b).
2014	Invictus Games	Inspired by the Warrior Games in the US, prince Harry wanted to create an international sporting event for wounded, injured and sick service members, both serving and veterans. The Games use the power of

[11] Over 70 major sporting events were organised since London 2012 (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2015a).

		sport to inspire recovery, support rehabilitation and generate a wider understanding and respect of all those who serve their country.
2014	Commonwealth Games - Glasgow	An international, multi-sport event involving athletes from the Commonwealth of Nations. One of the few mega-events that host both mainstream and disability events
2015	Rugby World Cup	The UK hosts the World Cup Rugby.
2015	National elections	Conservatives win the election with a majority.
2015	Publication of: "Sporting Future: A New Strategy for an Active Nation"	Strategy laid out by the DCMS. Renewed focus on tackling inactivity as it is believed that this is where the gains for the individual and society are the greatest while aiming to reduce treasury spend on those who are already active.
2016	Publication of: "Towards an Active Nation"	Aims make the sport sector more welcoming and inclusive, especially for those groups who are currently under-represented in sport. To understanding how active people are overall the Active People survey is replaced with the new Active Lives survey.
2016	Brexit	The UK votes to leave the EU in a referendum. Leadership of the Conservative government changes.
2017	Athletics World Championships World Para Athletics Championships	The UK hosts both the Athletics World Championships and the World Para Athletics Championships. This means that for the first time both of them are being hosted in the same city during the same summer.
2017	Snap Election	None of the traditional parties manage to gain a majority resulting in a hung parliament. Conservatives negotiate an arrangement with DUP to remain in government.
2019	Cricket World Cup	The UK hosts the Cricket World Cup

3.2.6. Conclusion

The establishment of the Sport Council after the Wolfenden report showed a first interest of the government in sport. Since then, the sport landscape and development of sport policy has seen dramatic changes, particularly, with the introduction of lottery funding and the establishment of Sport England and UK Sport. However, while a lot has changed, the focus of the government has largely been on the same two topics: mass participations and elite performance. However, it can be argued that within these two topics there have been incremental changes in emphasis and focus. For example, in the early years of sport, mass participation policy was about the joy of sport while later it became a tool to tackle other social aims and objectives of the government (e.g. obesity and social inclusion).

With the publication of "A sporting Future for All: The Government's Plan for Sport" in 2001, disability sport has become more prominent in sport policy. More importantly for this study, this brought mainstreaming of PWD in the sport sector on the agenda and despite changing emphasis and focus of the government, Sport England has remained heavily engaged in delivering on mainstreaming and broader equity objectives. This is shown through the publications of "Disability Policies" and "Towards an Active Nation" but also through various projects with a focus on the integration PWD in mainstream sport (e.g. Project Ability).

3.3. Disability Sport

The previous two sections provided a discussion on sport policy and disability policy, this section turns to their intersection, disability sport. In this section, the evolution of disability sport is discussed. First the establishment and evolution of international disability sport competition and the influence of the Paralympic Games is covered. Secondly, the evolution of formalised disability sport clubs and the tension with mainstream sport clubs is discussed.

3.3.1. Deaf sport, a start to disability sport organisations

Compared to competitive sport for the nondisabled, which has been around for centuries, disability sport is a relatively new concept. Historically, PWD had limited opportunities for organised sport competition (DePauw and Gavron 2005). It was people with hearing impairments who were the first group to have access to sport and Deaf clubs were the first formal sport clubs established for PWD. The earliest known and established Deaf sport club is the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Football Club established in 1872 (Le Clair 2012), followed by the Sports Club for the Deaf in Berlin 1888 (DePauw and Gavron 2005). Between 1888 and 1924 seven national sport federations for the Deaf emerged. The first national Deaf sport association was founded in Germany (1910), the Deutscher Gehörlosen-Sportverband (Le Clair 2012), followed by Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Netherlands and Poland (DePauw and Gavron 2005). Through the emergence of Deaf sport clubs, national Deaf sport associations and increasing international competition, the idea of an international sports event for Deaf people emerged.

In 1924 this idea became reality when the first Games, known as the International Silent Games, were held in Paris (Ammons 2008). This is the second oldest international multisport event, after the modern Olympics (1896) and the first international multisport event ever held for any group of PWD. The name of the Games evolved throughout the years from International Silent Games, to the World Games for the Deaf and most recently, the Deaflympics (adopted in 2001). The

International Silent Games attracted 148 athletes from nine countries and since, has grown to 2711 athletes from 83 nations in 2013 (International Committee of Sports for the Deaf 2016). While there is little evidence of organised sport for people with disabling conditions prior to WW II (Brittain 2012a), amputees, in addition to people with hearing impairments had enjoyed some early sport opportunities (DePauw and Gavron 2005). The British Society of One-Armed Golfers was founded in 1932 followed by an annual golf tournament for amputees. In addition there have been rare cases of self-initiating disabled individuals, some of which made it to the Olympics (DePauw and Gavron 1995). However, sport for people with physical disabilities only gained any real traction after WW II.

3.3.2. From rehabilitation to disability sport

The World Wars of the 20th century greatly influenced societies view of disabilities and brought rehabilitation to the foreground (Huber 1984). Before WW II, people with spinal cord injuries did not pose a social problem as their life expectancy was very short, two to three years at the most. Therefore, no real attempt was made to rehabilitate and prepare them for society. Moreover, the general view was the sooner they die the better for all concerned (Goodman 1986). With medical advancements, spinal cord injuries became survivable and the existing traditional methods of rehabilitation were considered to be insufficient to care for the medical and psychological needs of disabled war veterans (Brittain 2012a). Ludwig Guttmann[12] sought total rehabilitation for all his patients and tried to return a self-supporting status to the lives of spinally injured veterans, in essence returning them to productive and valued working lives (Bailey 2008). Guttmann recognised the physiological and psychological values of sport (McCann 1996). He believed that sport was a tool to restore hope and a sense of purpose to the young injured people. Moreover, he was the first to introduce sport as part of a rehabilitation programme (Brittain 2012a). By doing so, sport took a central place in a revolutionary rehabilitation system for people paralysed in the war.

According to Guttmann (1952), the introduction of sport as part of rehabilitation started modestly with darts only to explore other forms of sport later on. The introduction of archery proved one of the key influences in the development of disability sport. Guttmann introduced archery as a way for paraplegics to strengthen their upper-body and work on a well-balanced upright position (Guttmann 1952). Using the natural competitive instincts of his patients, small

[12] Ludwig Guttmann was the director of the Spinal Unit at Stoke Mandeville hospital

competitive activities developed out of the rehabilitation exercises. Moreover, according to Brittain (2012a: 3–4), "archery is one of the very few sports, once proficient, paraplegics could participate on equal terms with their nondisabled counterparts". Guttmann used this to the advantage of his rehabilitation system by visiting nondisabled archery clubs with his patients. These competitions were seen as an experiment to use sport for social re-integration and were the beginning of a more systematic development of competitive sport as part of rehabilitation (Brittain 2012a). But more importantly archery was also the sport that would herald the second largest multi-sport event on the planet.

On the 29th of July 1948, Guttmann organised an archery demonstration between sixteen archers from Stoke Mandeville and the Star and Garter Home for injured veterans (Brittain 2012a). However, the date chosen for the event was particularly interesting. Guttmann consciously choose the 29th of July 1948 as it was the opening day of the London Olympics. By holding his archery demonstration on the same day, Guttmann tried to attract as much publicity for disabled sport as possible and made attempts to capitalise on the Olympic name (Brittain 2008). A year later, in 1949, the second incarnation of the Stoke Mandeville Games were held. With seven competing teams and the addition of a second sport, net-ball, the Games started to take on the identity of a multi-sport event for paraplegics. The Cord[13] described the Games as "Dr Guttmann's Grand Festival of Paraplegic Sport" and Dr Guttmann claimed that the Stoke Mandeville Games would one day become known as the paraplegics equivalent of the Olympic Games (Brittain 2012a: 7–8). Over the years the Stoke Mandeville Games kept growing and the vision to become an international competition became a reality in 1952 when a Dutch team joined the Games. In the following years, more sport disciplines were added to the Games and more nations were represented. With the development of the Stoke Mandeville Games and the idea to be more like the Olympics, disability sport started a shift away from sport as a tool useful only for rehabilitation, towards sport for sport's sake (Blauwet and Willick 2012). This shift was not immediate and became more profound with the years. With this conceptual transition, individuals with disabilities were seen as athletes of a sporting movement that existed outside the constructs of the medical model.

[13] The Cord is a journal for the paraplegic that was published between 1947 and 1983 (Brittain 2012a:7–8)

3.3.3. From paraplegia to the inclusion of other impairment groups

Guttmann's vision for the Stoke Mandeville Games did not stop with it becoming an international event. From the first day he hosted the games, his vision was for it to become the paraplegic counterpart of the Olympic Games. Events were set in motion after Rome was elected as host city for the 1960 Olympic Games. At the 1959 Annual meeting of the World Veteran's Federation (WVF), Guttmann discussed the possibility of hosting the Games away from their spiritual home (Brittain 2012a). With the Stoke Mandeville Games proving to be a great success in the previous years, there was great enthusiasm amongst those present and former participating countries. Along with the promise of financial backing from the Italian Instituto Nazionale per l'Assicurazione contro gli Infortuni sul Lavoro (INAIL) and WVF, it was agreed to host the Games in the Olympic host city (Brittain 2012a).

In 1960, the first Olympic-style event became reality in Rome, titled the "Paralympics"[14]. The first Paralympics saw 328 athletes with paralysis, form 21 nations compete in 9 sports (Brittain 2012a). This first edition was considered a success by Guttmann and he expressed his hopes that this achievement would be a stimulus to continue on the same path (Bailey 2008). The same path was continued with the Olympics of 1964 held in Tokyo. In the same year Tokyo hosted the National Games for the Handicapped, providing sporting opportunities to amputees, blind and visually impaired and deaf athletes (Brittain 2012a). These Games made apparent a need to include other groups with disabilities in the International Mandeville Games and the International Sports Organisation for the Disabled was formed (Wilson and Clayton 2010).

With the first Winter Olympic Games for the Disabled in 1976, the integration of more impairment groups became a reality. The Winter Paralympics included amputees and, blind and visually impaired (Brittain 2012a). The Summer Paralympics, held in the same year, was traditionally held for paraplegics. However, following the Winter Paralympics they also accommodated for amputees, blind and visually impaired as well (Brittain 2012a). This was followed by other groups of impairment when athletes with cerebral palsy first joined in 1980 and a category called "Les Autres"[15] was added in 1984 (LOCOG 2008). The inclusion of athletes with an intellectual disability has been troublesome. After being part of the Games in 1996, it

[14] Initially this name referred to an event for the paraplegic. However, with the inclusion of more disability categories, the prefix "para" was given its Greek meaning "parallel" (Kell et al. 2008). Thus, the Paralympics became an event run parallel to the Olympic Games.
[15] Les Autres refers to athletes that could not be categorised in existing groups

emerged that a number of athletes at the Sydney 2000 Games competed within the category despite not having an intellectual disability (Brittain 2012a). This resulted in banning athletes with intellectual disabilities from the Games. However, London 2012 marked the return of their inclusion in the Paralympics (International Paralympic Committee 2012b).

While formal sport started with sport for the Deaf and the Deaflympics were established well before the Paralympics, it never expanded to include other impairment groups[16]. On the other hand, the Paralympics started off in the same way, only including paraplegics, but started expanding to other impairment groups in due time. This raises the question why neither Deaf Sport started to include other impairment groups, nor the Paralympics include Deaf Sport. A possible explanation for why the Deaflympics has not merged with the Paralympics or the Olympics may have to do with the logistics of hosting such mega-events. A merger was considered in the 90s, however, it was found to be unfeasible due to the costs and difficulties of finding and providing an estimated thousand or so skilled sign language interpreters in multiple language necessary to integrate both events (Ammons and Eickman 2011). Additionally, the Paralympic Games would struggle to accommodate the growing numbers of Deaf competitors in a similar matter as the Olympic Games would struggle to accommodate the growing number of Paralympic competitors. As such, it is likely that any merger would result in less opportunities for PWD to compete compared to the Deaflympics or the Paralympics.

3.3.4. Paralympics and Olympics: a growing bond

Hosting the Paralympics in the same host town as the Olympics was short lived and only after two successful parallel Games, the pattern was broken. Mexico, host to the 1968 Olympic Games, decided it could not host the Paralympic Games (Bailey 2008). The official explanation given was financial constraints and accessibility issues with the facilities (Brittain 2012a)[17]. It took until Seoul 1988 for the Paralympics to be hosted in the same host city as the Olympics again (Misener et al. 2013). Because of the return to the same host city, Bailey (2008) argued that the Games of 1988 are the first Modern Paralympic Games. This marked the start of hosting

[16] It must be noted that people with other impairments can participate in the Deaflympics but only under the condition that participants are hearing impaired as well (Ammons 2008).
[17] Many countries offered to host the Paralympic Games instead and it was decided to award the Games to Tel Aviv.

the Paralympics and Olympics in the same venues and host cities. Moreover, this marked the start of a closer cooperation between the Paralympics and the Olympics.

The continuous and ever closer cooperation between the International Paralympic Committee (IPC) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) resulted in the signing of a ground breaking agreement between the two in 2000 (Bailey 2008)[18]. The agreement was a continuation of the progress made since Seoul 1988. Its aims were to secure the organisation of the Paralympic Games by integrating the two organising committees and to incorporate a financial guarantee (Bailey 2008). With this agreement there would be one organising committee for both Games and as a result the host cities now have to bid for the Olympics and Paralympics as a single package (Youth Sport Trust 2011). As a result of this partnership, host cities are expected to make all venues used for the Games fully accessible. More recently (e.g. Beijing 2008, London 2012) these adaptations exceed the sporting venues and extend to realising accessibility improvements of the public transit system, public spaces, businesses and even private residences (Blauwet and Willick 2012). However, it is not clear whether these positive effects extended outside of the host city or remain focussed within. Additionally, host cities will have to plan for both Olympic and Paralympic legacy setting out strategies to make a lasting impact after the Games have left the hosting city. This continued cooperation between the IPC and IOC has allowed the Paralympics Games to grow into an event that is able to attract 4237 athletes from 164 countries who participated in 20 events at the London 2012 Games (Brittain 2012a).

3.3.5. Paralympics and the media

In 2003 parties signed an amendment to the 2001 Agreement transferring the broadcasting and marketing responsibilities to the organising committee (Brittain 2012a)[19]. Over the years the growth of the Paralympic Games and its closer cooperation with the Olympics has resulted in an increase in media coverage. This creates opportunities to increase awareness and understanding about disabilities and an opportunity to showcase the human ability in a positive way (Misener et al. 2013). But while the media coverage of some major disability sport-specific competitions is growing, coverage is often limited to a few weeks surrounding the event. Moreover, as Brittain

[18] This arrangement has recently been extended until 2032 (International Olympic Committee 2018)
[19] While negotiations are ongoing, it is expected that top tier sponsors of the Olympics will automatically be sponsors of the Paralympics.

(2012b) points out, coverage is still very limited and the way it is represented in the media has often negative connotations.

Tynedal and Wolbring (2013) found that the Olympics is roughly fifty-times more covered than the Paralympics. Furthermore, portrayal of disability sport in the media has been troublesome and "tended to focus on particular athletes, with particular impairments, competing in particular sports" (Thomas 2007a: 151). Media coverage is often embedded within the medical rhetoric and describes athletes with disability in terms of disease, impairment, defect or illness. Conversely, the media often uses superlative terms to describe athletes with disabilities. Supercrip is the presentation of "a person, affected by a disability or illness, as 'overcoming' to succeed as a meaningful member of society and to live a 'normal' life" (Hardin and Hardin 2004). Athletes with disabilities are thus seen as special, courageous people or heroes who against all odds battle to overcome their tragic disabled fate (Brittain 2012b, Hardin and Hardin 2004, Tynedal and Wolbring 2013). Even the theme of reporting in the media differs. Sport for PWD is often presented as human-interest stories rather than elite level sport competitions (Olenik et al. 1995, Tynedal and Wolbring 2013). This provokes a narrative of charitable discourse, a happy to be attending the Games, winning is not important attitude. This negative portrayal of disability sport in the media can result in disempowering athletes with disabilities through patronizing and stereotypical reporting (Ellis 2009).

3.3.6. Critique of the Paralympic Games

The negative portrayal of disability sport and athletes with disabilities is not the only critique on the Paralympic Games. Another major critique is that elite disability sport has been firmly grounded in the medical model and not engaged enough with other models such as the social model (Brittain 2012b). For example, to seek an equal level of competition, the classification in disability sport relies heavily on medical interpretations. A second critique draws attention to the underrepresentation of female participants and suggests the Paralympic games is a heavily male-dominated competition (Berger 2009, Hargreaves 2000). A final critique involves the underrepresentation of PWD involved in the administration of Paralympic sport. While there is increasingly more participation, this is not at sufficiently high levels (Goggin and Newell 2000).

3.3.7. Formal organisation of disability sport in the UK

With the success of the Stoke Mandeville Games and their transformation into the second largest multi-sport event in the world, it is easy to forget that Guttmann was at the forefront of another important development. He was a key influence in the development of disability sport structures in the UK. In 1948, as a result of the Stoke Mandeville Games, Guttmann established the British Paraplegic Sport Society (BPSS) (DePauw and Gavron 2005)[20]. Initially to serve the sporting interests of those with spinal cord injuries, but later to serve all wheelchair users. Accordingly, the BPSS was renamed to the British Wheelchair Sports Foundation in 1990 (Thomas and Smith 2009). In the following years a plethora of organisations emerged to serve disability groups other than the ones catered for by BPSS (Thomas 2003). In order to coordinate this plethora of disability sport organisations, Guttmann founded the British Sport Association for the Disabled (BSAD) in 1961 (Thomas 2008). This national organisation promoted itself as the national body for all PWD that did not fall under the BPSS and was in that regard recognised by the Sports Council (Guttmann 1964).

By the mid-80s the British Sport Council was playing a greater role in policy development of sport for PWD[21]. In 1982 the Sport Council recognised that their sport for all vision had not become reality for some groups, including disability groups, who had to overcome substantial barriers (Sports Council 1982). Despite this failure, the Sport Council did not go beyond funding more innovative and inclusionary visions of Sport for All (Thomas 2003). By 1988 this led to dissatisfaction amongst the National Disability Sport Organisations (NDSOs) who did not receive direct funding while BSAD received a notable grant from the Sport Council in addition to commercial funding. It failed to unify disability sport and it failed to organise an efficient organisational infrastructure for competition (Minister for Sport Review Group 1989). Because of this perceived failure of BSAD (Thomas 2003), a multitude of new disability organisations emerged. These new organisations had been established for one disability group in all sports, or to meet sporting needs of all disability groups in one particular sport. As more organisations were established, the failure of BSAD became more pronounced and the NDSOs started to envy

[20] Guttmann was not the first to establish a national governing body for disability sport as his BPSS was predated by the British Deaf Sports Council in 1930 (Thomas 2003).
[21] This interest came from a broader commitment to increase sport participation of under-performing groups (see Section 3.2).

BSAD's position with the Sport Council (Thomas 2003). The establishment of other NDSOs and with it the failure of BSAD is clearly shown in Table 9.

Table 9 National Disability Sport Organisations

Founded	Organisation
1930	British Deaf Sport Council
1948	British Paraplegic Sports Association (later, in 1990, the British Wheelchair Sports Association)
1961	British Sports Association for the Disabled (later, in 1997, Disability Sport England)
1976	British Blind Sport
1978	British Amputee Sports Association (BASA)
1981	United Kingdom Sports Association for the People with Mental Handicap (later, in 1995, the English Sports Association for People with Learning Disability)
1981	Cerebral Palsy Sport
1982	British Les Autres Sports Association (BLASA)
1989	British Paralympic Association
1990	British Les Autres and Amputee Sports Association (merger of BASA and BLASA)
1998	English Federation of Disability Sport (EFDS)
2001	English Sports Association for People with Learning Disability integrated in Mencap

3.3.8. Mainstreaming: towards inclusive sport participation

As a consequence of the Sport's Review Group in 1989, a gradual shift in policy towards the mainstreaming of disability sport became apparent (Minister for Sport Review Group 1989). The Sport's Review Group expected governing bodies of sport and other mainstream agencies to provide the same opportunities nondisabled people enjoy participating in sport for PWD. It was their belief that disability sport organisation did not have the resources to do so adequately (Thomas and Smith 2009). However, many of the recommendations that emerged were not implemented. In 1993 the Sports Council published a policy statement, "People with Disabilities and Sport", in which it suggested a strategic approach to the planning and development of sport. This strategic approach reinforced the earlier suggestions of the Sport's Review Group and suggested a move from a target approach (developing its own structures) to the mainstreaming of disability sport (Sports Council 1993). Mainstreaming was noted as a key policy priority and, accordingly, the Sports Council suggested a shift of responsibilities for the organisation of disability sport away from NDSOs towards the mainstream National Governing Bodies (NGBs). The main goal of mainstreaming disability sport was to "ensure equality of opportunity for PWD to take part in sport and recreation at the level of their choice" (Sports Council 1993: 7). In order to facilitate the mainstreaming of disability sport the English Federation of Disability Sport (EFDS) was established in 1998.

Collins (1997) reported that in contrast to earlier attempts at reform, there now was a unity of opinion on the future of disability sport policy. This was shown in the establishment of the EFDS. The EFDS was a much needed united voice for disability sport in England, which combines the specialist expertise of the NDSOs (Thomas and Smith 2016). However, it must be noted that establishing the EFDS did not go smoothly. It is argued that the NDSOs were forced to accept and support the new umbrella organisation proposed by Sport England[22] (Thomas and Smith 2009). This consensus was perceived as forced rather than reached, creating an "us and them" feeling. Due to the significant role Sport England played in the creation of the EFDS and because the EFDS is perceived to be doing Sport England's job in relation to disability sport provision in England, the relationship between EFDS and Sport England is perceived as very close while the relationship with some NDSOs has been troublesome at best (Thomas and Smith 2009). Moreover, the establishment of the EFDS brought financial difficulties for other disability organisations as Sport England's funding priority was the EFDS. This hostile environment has prevented the EFDS from truly unifying all disability organisations in a single umbrella organisation.

The slow progress towards an efficient umbrella organisation lobbying for disability sport was due in part to two factors. First the resistance and non-interest of mainstream NGBs to acknowledge disability sport as a significant issue and, secondly, the unwillingness of the nondisabled administrators in existing disability organisations (Thomas 2003). At present, it is still the EFDS that has the strategic lead in sport and physical activity for PWD in England. However, Sport England and the NGBs seem to play an increasingly important role. The main strategic outcome the EFDS seeks is to develop an effective and functioning sports system that engages with PWD and is inclusive (Thomas and Smith 2016). However, the evidence suggests that disability sport remains at best loosely and differentially integrated into mainstream sport (Thomas and Smith 2016). While there is a lot of commitment from the EFDS towards the mainstreaming of disability sport, it seems that in practice this is a lot harder to achieve and to a large degree depends on the willingness of the mainstream NGBs of sport (Thomas and Smith 2009).

It must be noted that mainstreaming is not a phenomenon unique to the sport sector, nor was it the first sector in which mainstreaming became desirable. One of the first sectors in which

[22] Previously known as the Sports Council

mainstreaming became desirable is education. Following a key paper by Dunn (1968), mainstreaming and with it, the inclusion of people with disability in mainstream education, became heavily debated (Kavale 2002). The idea of mainstreaming PWD in education gained political traction with the publication of the Warnock Report in 1978 (Department for Education and Skills 1978) and over recent years the inclusion agenda within schools has risen up the political and statutory agenda with an increased emphasis on special educational needs including mainstreaming within Physical Education (Vickerman 2007).

Additionally, disability is not the only context in which mainstreaming has been deemed desirable. For example, gender mainstreaming (see Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000, Rees 2005, True and Minstrom 2014) and mainstreaming in the context of migration (see Berry 1997, Berry et al. 2006, Global Migration Group 2010, Guiraudon 2000, Miles and Thranhardt 1995). Gender mainstreaming was endorsed in the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) as the official policy approach to gender equality of the European Union and its member states (Rees 2005). With gender mainstreaming defined as to address and rectify persistent and emerging disparities between men and women (True and Minstrom 2014). In terms of migration, people of many cultural backgrounds come to live together within a diverse society which, in many cases, result in the formation of cultural groups that are not equal in power (Berry 1997). As such, mainstreaming in the context of migration refers to the integration of such cultural groups in larger society.

3.3.9. Training and coaching

The development of athletes and sporting success are the product of multiple factors. It is argued that this is even more true for PWD (Martin 1999). As anyone involved in coaching and the world of sport is aware and with an extensive literature base to back this up, coaches play an important role in athletes development and their sporting success whether this is grassroots participation or elite performance (see Abraham and Collins 1998, Lyle 2002, Mallett et al. 2009, Potrac et al. 2000, Saury and Durand 1998, Townsend et al. 2015).

Historically, most athletes could enjoy the support of coaches however, PWD had more difficulties in finding this support and often had to coach themselves (Ferrara and Buckley 1996, Rainbolt and Sherril 1987). Research on coaching athletes with disabilities did not go beyond indicating whether athletes had coaches (DePauw 1986, Martin and Whalen 2014). More recently, training and coaching is still found to be a priority research area in sport for PWD as literature has shown that research in this area is still lacking (Cregan et al. 2007, DePauw and Gavron 1991, 2005, Lee and Porretta 2013, Reid and Prupas 1998). Moreover, this is confirmed

by Lee and Porretta (2013), who covered disability sport literature from 2001-2011. While these studies indicate that important research has been added to the disability sport field in the last two decades, they found that very limited research had been added to the area of training and coaching athletes with disabilities[23].

In the UK, sports coaching arguably finds itself in a positive political climate following the publication of key policy documents (Department for Culture Media and Sport 2002, Sports Coach UK 2006, Sports Council 1991) and the implementation of a UK Action Plan for Coaching (Sports Coach UK 2006). These documents emphasise the political commitment to strive towards excellence through the professionalisation of sport structures in the UK and as such, the professionalisation of coach development. Additionally, coach development was part of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic legacy goals with an investment of £16 million (Girginov 2013) while other initiatives, such as Sportivate, focussed on inspiring young people to become a coach (Sport England 2012). Despite the emphasis on professionalisation, it is important to recognise the historical structure of coaching in the UK. The UK coaching system is built on volunteerism, accounting for 78% of the coaching body (Sports Coach UK 2011) and relies heavily on the "goodwill" of these volunteers (Taylor and Garratt 2008). This makes it difficult to turn sports coaching into a profession, which was one of the aims of the professionalisation strategy.

Despite the positive political climate and the emphasis on professionalisation, the historical structure of coaching in the UK created an environment in which coaches do not need formal certification. The reliance on volunteers allows for players and parents to undertake coaching in grassroots sports (Lemyre et al. 2007). However, the more professional the team, the more likely that coaches will have certifications and certification of higher levels (Sports Coach UK 2011). When looking at the state of coaching in the UK, there were a reported 1,109,000 coaches in 2011 or 2.2% of all UK adults are considered to be coaching (Sports Coach UK 2011). Furthermore, it is estimated that about 7% of the coaching population is someone with a disability (Sports Coach UK 2011), highlighting a similar gap as in sport participation. It must be mentioned that more recent numbers are available. However, changes in methodology make comparison difficult (see Appendix 1, page 293), while the numbers of 2011 were found to resemble numbers quoted by Aphrodite from UK Coaching during the interviews.

[23] In practise, only ten data-based publications were added to the literature of training and coaching athletes with disabilities in the last 20 years (Lee and Porretta 2013, Reid and Prupas 1998)

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has historically reviewed both the evolution of disability policy and sport policy to observe its influence on and relationship to disability sport. Firstly, it is notable that both disability policy and sport policy share some interesting similarities. It is clear that both have moved up the government agenda in the last 40 years with increased importance. If there is one big difference between sport policy and disability policy, it is in the approach to influence government policy development. Disability policy has emerged because of activists and lobbying organisations, whereas sport organisations took an approach of negotiating rather than challenging government policy.

When reviewing sport policy, it seems that there had been almost no significant relationship between mainstream sport and disability sport. While in recent years this relationship has not positively developed, Sport England has been pushing mainstream sport clubs to perform more on disability sport. This historical lack of relationship between disability sport and mainstream sport is arguably a result of a lack of interest by the mainstream sport society in disability sport. Later during their coexistence this lack of interest has evolved in a feeling of competition. This has escalated with mainstream sport clubs now delivering for PWD which creates a new tension in the sport landscape because disability sport organisations had a monopoly during most of history. This aim of achieving greater equality is shared with disability policy. Both are trying to improve opportunities for PWD. It has become a central rationale, which underlays both policy areas.

Despite the similarities, there is little evidence to suggest that the disability policies have directly influenced sport policies. The governments' interest in disability sport is more likely a result of a shift towards addressing a broad range of social inequalities. This recent interest in disability sport is characterised by a new way of looking at sport. Sport is increasingly considered to be a tool to achieve other social aims. Health and inclusion of PWD in mainstream society are two of those aims that can explain the raised interest in disability sport.

Chapter 4 Theory of Policy Analysis

The previous Chapters provided insights into disability theory and the evolution of disability sport policy. However, to fully understand the policy process, it is necessary to make sense of the relationship between policy and the key actors, those in power, who influence the policy process. As such, when conducting an analysis of sport policy, it is important to examine political structures and policy processes to assist in attempting to asses why and how public policy has developed and changed (Hogwood and Gunn 1984). According to Dye (1976), analysing policy is finding out what organisations do, why they do it and what difference it makes. Three levels of analysis exist, macro, meso and micro level of analysis.

The macro-level studies interactions at the broadest level which in the case of policy is the state. This is the level at which a policy idea is formulated. Because policy is considered to be the product of exercising political power, macro-level theory aims to explain who holds power, i.e. how is power distributed in the state (Hill 1997, Marsh and Stoker 2002). The meso-level is where policy starts to take shape. Meso-level theories turn their focus to the experiences and interaction between organisations/groups. These theories aim to provide insight into who is involved in policy-making and how policy is made. At the micro level, the smallest level of interaction, the individual policy implementer is examined. This can be done through examining one-on-one interaction between individuals or in some cases just “the self” alone. However, there have been calls for public policy analyses to integrate different theoretical perspectives and levels of analysis (Marsh and Rhodes 1992, Marsh and Stoker 2002, Smith 1993)

Considering the aims and objectives of this research, which focusses on the implementation of mainstreaming policy, the central focus of this research is upon the meso level, with insights provided at the micro/delivery level as this is where the intricacies and nuances of implementation occur (Hill 1997, Hill and Hupe 2002, Parson 1995). Nevertheless, the meso-level theories (see the work of Brewer and DeLeon 1983, Kingdon 1985, 1995, Marsh and Rhodes 1992, Martell and DeLeon 2011, Richardson and Jordan 1979, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith 1999, Weible and Sabatier 2006) do not prove to be fruitful for this research as their focus is on explaining policy making rather than its implementation. However, it is important to understand why relations take the form they do, how they relate to the broader political system and thus how policy outcomes might be facilitated/constrained (Daugbjerg and Marsh 1998: 71). To this end, the macro-level provides the context within which power is dispersed through society which has an important impact on the other two levels (Daugbjerg and Marsh 1998, Marsh and

Rhodes 1992, Marsh and Stoker 2002). As such, understanding this wider context, in which the meso and micro level operates, will allow the consideration of constraining or enabling effects of power upon interest groups, networks or individuals. Therefore, in light of integrating different theoretical perspectives and levels of analysis; the fact that macro level frameworks are often understood as an analytical framework of policy making; and the focus of this study on policy implementation, this study will adopt a macro-level theory to aid in the analysis of policy implementation, which can be considered to be mainly a meso- and micro-level phenomena.

In light of the development of a pertinent and integrated framework that links the macro- meso- and micro- levels of theorising and analysis (see chapter 6), this chapter provides a discussion on theories of the macro-level (also referred to as theories of state). Furthermore, given the complexity of the policy process, Sabatier (2007: 4) states that the analyst must find some way of simplifying the situation. Therefore, to analyse disability sport policy, it is necessary to identify tools or frameworks that may be of use in simplifying the situation and in analysing it. To this end, the second part of the chapter turns to a discussion on a top-down and bottom-up approach to policy.

4.1. Theories of the state

When looking at policy processes it is important to acknowledge the role of the state. Hill argued that "policy is the product of exercising political influence, determining what the state does and setting limits to what it does" (1997:41). In essence, looking at the policy process is looking at who exercises power in the making of policy (Hill 2014). Depending on the framework chosen to look at policy, one adopts different perspectives to look at the same situation. This most likely results in the observation of quite different things (Sabatier 2007).

One of the main critiques of state theory is the challenge to the state itself. In recent years, it is argued that state theory is rapidly becoming obsolete. The argument is that the state itself is becoming obsolete in an era of globalization and internationalization. The state is becoming too small to deal with big problems, which are being dealt with on an international or global stage (Hay et al. 2006). However, while disability sport is gaining momentum on an international level, it is still relatively small and so very much a state affair and thus state theory is a useful tool for its analysis. While different theories of state exist, e.g. elitism, corporatism, Marxism and pluralism, for this study neo-Marxist and neo-pluralist are considered to be the most fruitful to aid analysis of mainstreaming policy. What follows is a discussion on these two methods.

4.1.1. Marxism

As neo-Marxism is an offspring of classic Marxism, it is worth discussing this first. Classic Marxism started in the mid-1900s when Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels combined their understanding of British economics, German philosophy and French revolutionary experience (Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987). This traditional approach to power is based on the idea that the class one belongs to institutes a certain amount of power. It reflects the doctrine based on a class struggle between the owners of production (the bourgeoisie), and the working class (Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987). The bourgeoisie can use their class advantage to control the majority and maintain their dominant position in society. Rather than just focussing on class, neo-Marxist theories of the state emphasis economic wealth and ownership of production as well which allows for broader application.

There are two noteworthy offspring of neo-Marxist theory: instrumentalism and structuralism, also referred to as the agency - structure debate (Tan 2011), which in essence is a debate between cause and effect. It debates whether the state is an instrument of bourgeois domination or whether the state is responsible for maintaining the bourgeois domination. Jessop (1990: 250) criticises this distinction within neo-Marxism as being "unhelpful" as in both theories a favourable position exists for business interests, the business owners and the bourgeois. The distinction between these two neo-Marxist theories is discussed in more depth in Appendix 2, page 294. While neo-Marxism is not of particular interest in analysing the policy-making context in the UK, it does provide an interest to this study of inclusive sport. Neo-Marxism can contribute to our understanding of the dominant nondisabled culture within sport and the extent to which this status quo has been reinforced by the state. A second possible contribution of neo-Marxism comes to understanding the structure of mega events in which the organising committee holds the power.

4.1.2. Pluralism

Pluralism is conceptualised in numerous ways in political science and thus different interpretations of pluralism exist (Muñiz-Fraticelli 2014, Smith 2006). As Nichols (1975: 1) points out:

> "…the term has been used by separate groups of thinkers who have rarely attempted to relate their particular use of the term to its other usages."

It is not the intention to describe all forms of pluralism. Thus, a brief overview of "classic" pluralism is provided, followed by a noteworthy development, neo-pluralism.

In Europe Pluralism was a reaction to the idea of an absolutist state and to the distribution of power as suggested in Marxist and elitist theories. It was a normative theory that tried to explain how a state should be organized in order to achieve a just, liberal and socialist society (Hirst 2005). This form of pluralism is referred to as English pluralism and is strongly anti-statist. American Pluralism on the other hand is developed on modern American political theory which defines democracy as a form of stable and institutionalized political competition. What both English and American Pluralism have in common, is an emphasis on the role of secondary associations. These secondary associations are independent of the government and strive to influence the policies a government adopts. The distinctiveness of Pluralism and the relation between the state and these secondary associations can perhaps be best comprehended in a quote of Pope Leo XIII:

> "The State should watch over these societies of citizens banded together in accordance with their rights, but it should not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization, for things move and live by the spirit inspiring them, and may be killed by the rough grasp of a hand from without." (Leo XIII 1891)

What this means is that the role of the state is viewed as regulating conflicts in society rather than the domination of society in pursuit of their particular interests.

Pluralist assert that in society multiple sources of legitimate political authority exist personified in various groups and associations (Muñiz-Fraticelli 2014). These different groups hold significant amounts of power and it is because of this that they are crucial in developing policy outcomes (Smith 1993:15). The diversity of groups that hold power ensures that no single group can dominate the policy making process. These groups, public, private and voluntary, e.g. churches, unions, universities, exercise their own sovereignty and it is only this dispersion of authority that secures freedom against the state (Muñiz-Fraticelli 2014). In pluralism, the policy-making process within the state is therefore a negotiation between conflicting interests in order to come to a peaceful solution (Dahl 1967). It is believed that any active and legitimate group can make itself heard at some point during the policy-making process. This form of pluralism sees the state as a neutral arbiter between the different interest groups.

It is in these secondary groups that a first interesting similarity with the UK can be found. Sport policy in England is very much developed by Sport England, an independent group, while other independent groups do try to influence policy making as well – e.g. non-governmental sport

organisations (NGSO), for example, Sport & Recreation Alliance, UK Deaf Sport, Youth Sport Trust, etc. Nicholls (1975: 5) summarises English Pluralism in three main principles:

a) liberty is the most important political value, and it is best preserved by power being dispersed,
b) groups should be regarded as "persons", and
c) ideas of state sovereignty should be rejected.

One of the main criticisms of pluralism is that it does not take into account the significant political influence of large corporations (Lindblom 1977). Answering to this critique neo-pluralism developed which recognises that business interests are often in a superior position and enjoy certain advantages over other groups (Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987: 275). Neo-Pluralism accepts the notion of elite groups, while remaining true to a dispersion of power. This is possible because even powerful groups are prone to change over time, even if it is more slowly. Accordingly, the democratic and competitive election process makes it impossible for one class or group to rule over the long term. Within neo-pluralism, public policy is tilted towards those interest groups which have the best organisation and most resources. This results in an asymmetric distribution of power which is a closer reflection of reality. Three main principles of Neo-Pluralism can be distinguished as follows (Green 2003):

a) there is an active participation of the state in the policy process,
b) emphasis on independent groups of multiple interests, and
c) a favorable position exists for business interests and powerful groups.

Neo-pluralism could be seen as a more adequate explanation of power distribution, thus more useful to this study as it acknowledges the potentially powerful role played by particular groups. This is particularly interesting to the sport sector which is heavily fragmented in terms of the number of interest groups but also in terms of power distribution. Additionally, pluralism favours agency and as such put emphasis on the role agents play in establishing and maintaining social structures. Thus, this theory leaves more room for personal intervention to influence policy. This is particularly important to this study as Houlihan (2005b) argues that in public policy areas, such as sport, where values, norms and practices are more recently established, there is greater scope for the agent to influence policymaking.

4.2. Characteristics of the sport policy sector

The previous section reviewed two fruitful theories of the state: pluralism and Marxism. It is important to note that other theories exist and that different theories may be better at explaining different policy areas while different theories may also be better at explaining policy making at some times, but less at others (Dunn 2004). The purpose of what follows is to establish which of the theories are the most useful to analyse mainstreaming sport policy. In order to narrow down which theory of state might be helpful, it is useful to look at the characteristics of the sport policy sector. Houlihan (2000a) distinguishes three main characteristics of the sport policy area: *openness*, *weakness* and the *internationalisation* of sport policy-making.

Openness refers to how easy it is for non-sport interest groups and policy sectors to influence the sport policy-making (Roche 1993). Sport is heavily shaped by interest and policy in adjacent areas such as, education, health and media. This openness is the result of other distinguished features such as, instrumentality, administrative dispersal, and variable salience. Instrumentality means that sport is perceived as a tool rather than an end in itself. Sport as a tool for social inclusion and health benefits for example. Administrative dispersal shows in the multitude of organisations and bodies that have interests in sport. Not only is there dispersion between the central government departments, between DCMS and departments such as Health and Education, there is dispersion between different levels of government with the local government fulfilling an important role as well. Besides the governmental role in sport, there are a multitude of NGBs, NSO and commercial organisations with an interest in sport. Here it is also significant to note the important role the voluntary not-for profit sector plays in sport. In the UK the voluntary sector retains its core position, despite being challenged by the commercial sector (Bergsgard et al. 2007). This is important when analysing the state structure, as it disperses the concentration of power. On top, the organisational structures are characterised by disunity (Houlihan 2000a), resulting in conflicting ideologies, for example “mass participation results in elite success” versus “elite success motivates mass participation”. A last feature of openness is that of sport’s variable salience. Government state intervention is heavily reliant on exogenous factors such as a disappointing Olympic Games to intervene in sport policy. It is important to note however that in recent years government intervention together with funding has increased (King 2009). The increase in governmental intervention and financial means has been discussed during the historic overview of disability sport. For example, the use of lottery funding in sport and the governments intervention towards inclusion in sport.

The second characteristic of the sport policy sector is the *weakness* of the sports policy community. The sports community, and especially the disability sports community is seen as a loose issue network (Houlihan 2000a). It is argued that development in (disability) sports policy has been the result of fortuitous circumstances, ministers with an interest in sport and public sentiment, rather than the product of successful lobbying (Houlihan 2005b). Thus, as a result of the instrumentality of sport, the increased interest in disability sport is more likely a result of a shift towards addressing a broad range of social inequalities.

The final characteristic of the sport policy sector is the increasing *internationalisation* of the sport policy-making. Here there are two major factors at play, transnational policy-making (e.g. Europeanisation) and the increasing influence of business interests. Transnational policy-making is gaining importance at the expense of the domestic context (e.g. Bosman ruling). It must be noted that recent events (i.e. Brexit) may reduce the impact of transnational policy-making in the future. However, there is still a plethora of international organisations that will have an impact on national policy making (WADA, CoE, IOC, etc.). The importance of the global framework in sport is shown in the allocation of subsidy. Houlihan (2000a: 6) argues that "the selection of sports to benefit from public subsidy is often determined by their inclusion in the Olympic programme", rather than by other domestic factors such as national popularity or relevance to national sports development strategy.

Additional to these three characteristics it is important to note the dominant position that the nondisabled sports sector holds over the disability sports sector. It is clear that PWD hold a minority group status in society. There is a dominant hegemony in sport favouring the nondisabled over those with disabilities. For example, PWD have been typically excluded from decision-making roles and had little control over the organisations meant to serve them (Duckett 1998).

Reflecting on these characteristics of the sports sector, it becomes clear that there is a big dispersion of power in the sports sector. There is a plurality of organisation, both governmental and non-governmental, with interests in sports policy. This observation excludes the use of state theory that has a concentration of power as a core characteristic such as elite-, Marxist- and corporatist- theory of state. These three theories see the concentration of power in a select few, whether this select few come from class, corporate power or a different elite does not matter for this argument. It must be noted that elite/corporatist theory can be useful when looking at mega-sport events, where there is greater economic interest and the power is more centralised.

Marxist theory on the other hand, seems more useful to analyse the beginning years of sports policy when the bourgeoisie was the main interest group in sport and class relations were more deeply embedded. When taking into account the minority position of PWD and disability organisations, a fourth theory of state, pluralism, can be discarded. A pluralist approach does seem a viable approach towards the normative sports sector in the UK, as is argued by Bergsgard et al. (2007). While pluralism accounts for the dispersion of power, it values all interest groups as equals. Both neo-pluralism and neo-Marxism account for the dispersion of power and inequality amongst interest groups.

4.3. Top-Down and Bottom-Up

Pressman and Wildavsky are viewed as the "founding fathers" of implementation theory (May et al. 2013). Their critical research recognised the complexity of implementation. They recognise the influence of numerous variables and the importance of communication and cooperation between different parts of the delivery chain (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). However, it is clear that there are differing perspectives on how implementation occurs in practice. Traditionally, two contrasting schools of thought or approaches have been developed and have generated a longstanding debate: the top-down and bottom-up approaches (O'Gorman 2011).

Top-down approaches are based on the classical Weberian paradigm that sought to order society through a rationalistic bureaucratic hierarchy (Cantelon and Ingham 2002: 71–72). In essence, the bureaucrat making independent decisions based on merit and technical criteria, free from political influence. This top-down approach views policy implementation as a process where political leaders can articulate a clear policy preference which becomes increasingly more specific when it goes through the policy process. During this process, a maximisation between political intent and action is expected to find the best way for implementers to implement a policy (O'Gorman 2011). As such, this approach assumes the notion that policymakers can simply issue commands to those below them, which in turn result in successful implementation. Successful implementation is considered with how far the actions of delivery agents coincide with the initial policy decision.

However, this view does not take into account the multifarious nature of the policy process (Hill and Hupe 2002: 42) This is a general critique of the top-down approach, that they start from the perspective of the central decision-maker and thus neglect other actors (Barret and Fudge 1981, Hjern and Hull 1982, Sabatier 1986). Out of the critique of the top-down methodology evolved the bottom-up approach to policy implementation (Sabatier 1986). This approach starts from

identifying the network of actors involved in service delivery and ask them about their goals, strategies, activities and contacts. It then uses the contacts as a network to identify the higher levels of those involved all the way to the policy-makers (Hjern et al. 1978, Hjern and Hull 1982). As such, those who advocate a bottom-up approach argue that effective implementation is more likely to be a function of street-level actors rather than perfect policy design (Lipsky 1983).

> "the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out" (Lipsky 1983: 12)

Local, grassroots organisations argue that they have greater experience and practical knowledge of policy problems and as such are better placed to design policy (Lipsky 1983). Furthermore, a bottom up approach recognises that the original policy can be subverted, modified or resisted by delivery agents. For example, Garrett's (2004) study of grassroots sports clubs found that they would resist sport policy demands as a result of their independent nature and the increased expectation and workload these policies demand from them. Additionally, Skille (2008) found that grassroots sports clubs would resist policies when they considered policy goals to not be in correspondence with their own aims and objectives. As such, this view stresses the importance of negotiation and consensus between the political environment and the front line of delivery (Kay 1996).

The main critique of the bottom-up approach is, that it relies heavily on the perceptions and activities of participants. Therefore it is unlikely to analyse the factors indirectly or even directly affecting their behaviour (Sabatier 1986). A second critique of the bottom-up approach is that grassroots actors do not have the same legitimacy as the democratically elected officials of the central government (Matland 1995). In a democratic system, policy control should be exercised by actors whose power derives from their accountability to their electorate. Furthermore, decentralisation should occur within a context of central control (Matland 1995).

With both perspectives having received wide discussion and criticism, based on their simplifying tendency and in rejecting each other's assumptions (Elezi 2013), there have been a limited number of attempts at combining the two perspectives. Progress in this regard can be distinguished in two groups. One group of researchers have proposed ways of combining the two perspectives within the same model, while the second group has searched for conditions under which one approach is more appropriate than the other (Matland 1995) (see Appendix 3, page 295). In sum, there are strengths and weaknesses in both top-down and bottom-up

approaches as models of implementation. Moreover, recent attempts to combine both models and discussions on which model is more appropriate in which situation, show that both models are complementary. In essence, they offer little more than different ways of looking at the same phenomenon (O'Toole 2000: 267).

4.3.1. Implementation in the sport sector

In the specific case of sports policy implementation in the UK, it seems that it is a good example of a top-down system. This is to some regard contradictory as the sporting landscape is highly fragmented, which would in the first instance seem to favour a bottom-up approach (Sabatier 1986). However, there is a clear public programme and a single public agency, Sports England, that dominates the field. Kay (1996) agrees that sports policy is a good example of a top-down approach and stated:

> "The current arrangements for sports policy in England place strong emphasis on consultation and partnership – but in practice the system is essentially a 'top-down' one, in which policies are centrally developed."(Kay 1996: 242)

Findings from Harris et al. (2009) show that grassroots actors perceive sports policy as a hierarchical, top-down approach. They perceive that government and national sports organisations develop policy with the expectation that the grassroots actors would deliver these policies without being involved. May et al. (2013) convincingly argue that sports policy in the UK is still a good example of a top-down policy with the current 2012-2017 community sports policy. However, O'Gorman (2011: 92–93) argues that in practice, any analysis of sports policies and programmes would have, to a lesser or greater extent, elements of both top-down and bottom-up styles of implementation. As such it seems vital to use a model that reflects the reality of the top-down sports policy process in the UK. However, such model should in addition account for the various attitudes and perspectives of grassroots implementers and address highly relevant variables and their interrelationships which are crucial to this research. Thus, it seems best to combine elements of both a top-down and a bottom-up approach in the analysis.

4.4. Conclusion

To understand the development of disability sport policy and its current salience it is important to appreciate the environment in which it emerged and continues to operate. At a fundamental level it is necessary to acknowledge the significance of the ideological context of policy, but also the structure of government and the patterns of interest groups. It is clear that an examination of disability sport policy should be conducted using an analytical framework that takes into

account the sector specific characteristics. In order to come to an integrated framework, this chapter discussed theories of the macro-level of analysis which provides insights into the notion of power in society and the policy-making process.

The distribution of power and which groups and individuals exercise power in the policy-making process is important to consider in order to understand how, why and which disability sport policies are formed and implemented. Individuals exercise power in accordance to their own values and within their social structure (Foucault 1972). Therefore, it is important to consider how the policy-making process is influenced by the ideology of key actors. It has been suggested by Thomas (2004: 119) that key actors' ideologies of disability may have a significant impact on the emergence and development of disability sport policy. The current emphasis on the mainstreaming of disability sport for example, may be partly explained by Foucault's theory (Foucault 1972) where key actors use power in accordance to their own values and social structure, thus view disability from a nondisabled perspective and implicitly assume that disability sport should emulate nondisabled sport.

The macro-level theories of state deal with the relationships between the state and society, it provides context for the broader political structures and process in which policy networks exist. Moreover, it provides an explanation of inclusion and exclusion within the network and a hypothesis of whose interests are served by the output of these networks. Thus, macro-level theories provide answers to two important questions. Firstly, they provide an answer to why certain actors have a privileged position in the policy-making process and secondly, in whose interest they rule. As such, the macro level theories can be interpreted as a way to theorise the power distribution in society and in doing so provide a lens through which politics and policy-making can be viewed. The contention is that neo-Marxism and neo-pluralism appear to offer perspectives on policy-making that are useful for this study. However, Grix (2010) argues that governments and their structures are actually networks of people, additionally, neo-Marxism has a focus on class at the expense of other forms of social stratification, while neo-pluralism offers a more suitable non-class based framework while still accounting for the privileged position of the few.

Chapter 5 Methodology

The fulfilment of the research aim and objectives as laid out in Chapter 1, while aided by the previous review of the literature documenting the development of disability theory (Chapter 2), Disability and Sport Policy (Chapter 3) and aspects of policy analysis theory (Chapter 4), depends significantly on the methodology utilised. Thus, this chapter presents the methodology for the investigation and includes a discussion of the chosen epistemology and ontology, research paradigm, research design and means of data collection and analysis. But first, it is worth providing a brief reminder of the aim of this study, which is to provide a better understanding in the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy in the grassroots sport sector, and its objectives:

- To establish the key characteristics of the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy;
- To provide a better understanding of the components and their interrelationship underpinning the principle-practice gap;
- To provide a better understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming policy;
- To assess the congruence of mainstreaming policy and the implementation of it with the expectations and experiences of PWD.

To answer these questions, a number of philosophical and methodological questions need to be considered. However, social science research has been approached in various ways with terminology used being interpreted in various ways (Grix 2002: 175). In order to provide clarity and structure to this research, the research design proposed by Hay (2002: 64) and adopted by Grix (2002: 180), who both are from a socio-political background, will be used to guide this chapter (see Figure 2, page 61). As such, the ontological and epistemological underpinning of this research is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the insider-outsider controversies in research. Next, the approach this study takes and the methods used to collect and analyse data are discussed. The chapter ends with a short discussion of some ethical considerations taken into account by this study.

Figure 2 Research Design (Hay 2002: 64)

5.1. Ontology and Epistemology

While there is a general agreement on what the terms ontology and epistemology mean, their relationship and the position researchers adopt are contested within the literature (Furlong and Marsh 2010, Hay 2007). As such, Hay (2007) suggests that while the position of a researcher cannot be proven nor the relationship between ontology and epistemology, it is important to accept that these are contested terms while adopting a position that makes sense to us. Here I adopt the position of Grix (2002) where ontology is the starting point of research, followed by one's epistemological position.

Ontology is concerned with existence and focuses on the fundamental nature of being (Marsh and Furlong 2002). Ontology asks the question: "What is the form and nature of reality and, consequently, what is there that can be known about it?" (Furlong and Marsh 2010: 185). In social studies this means that ontological assumptions are concerned with what we believe constitutes social reality (Blaikie 2000: 8). Hay (2002: 63) suggests that the ontological position of a researcher is what he or she believes is the nature of the social and political reality to be investigated. Epistemology is concerned with the nature of knowledge and the possible ways of

gaining knowledge of social reality (Grix 2002), "how we know what we know" (Crotty 1998: 8). These theoretical concepts describe a way of looking at the world and making sense of it. As such they reflect the fundamental beliefs of the researcher. The approach a researcher takes to his or her subject is shaped by these beliefs which reflects in taking an ontological and epistemological position. Even if these positions are unacknowledged they shape the approach to theory and the methods used (Furlong and Marsh 2010). This chapter will discuss different ontological and epistemological positions and will explain the position of the author.

5.1.1. Ontology

The position taken here is that ontology precedes epistemology and as such ontology will be discussed first. The ontological perspectives can be divided in two mutually opposing and exclusive categories: foundationalism and anti-foundationalism. Foundationalism is often referred to as objectivism (Bryman 2016: 28) and sometimes as realism (Crotty 1998: 10). Anti-foundationalism is often referred to as constructionism (Bryman 2016: 28) or relativism (O'Reilly and Kiyimba 2015: 6). However, the different terminology refer to the same ontological position (Furlong and Marsh 2010: 189).

From an objective perspective, the world is viewed as being built up from objects that have properties independent of the observer/researcher (Furlong and Marsh 2010: 190). As such the world is viewed to be existent independently of our knowledge of it and those who adopt this position posit the existence of objective, absolute and unconditional truths (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 159). When applied to a social context objectivism can be defined as "an ontological position that asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors" (Bryman 2016: 29). Within this position, organisations are viewed as tangible objects. It has rules, regulations and adopts standardised procedures. Moreover, the organisation exerts pressure on individuals to conform to these requirements and create constraints because individuals internalise these beliefs and values. As such, the social entity becomes something external to the actor and has a tangible reality of its own (Bryman 2016).

In contrast, constructivism views realities in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions that are socially and experimentally based and dependent for their form and content on the individual person or group holding the construction (Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110). While this means that reality is a social construct of the individual, it is social, political and cultural processes that shape these views. This view does not deny that there is a real world out there independent of our knowledge. However, it contends that this reality has "no social

role/casual power independent of the agent's/group's/society's understanding of it" (Furlong and Marsh 2010: 191). As opposed to objectivism, organisations are not viewed as a tangible object. Constructivism acknowledges the power social actors have in influencing organisations (Bryman 2016). Moreover, the social order established is in a fluid state, constantly changing. "Agreements are continually being terminated or forgotten, but also as continually being established, renewed, reviewed, revoked, revised" (Strauss 1978: 316–317). Constructionism also suggests that categories people employ to understand the world around them are social products (Bryman 2016). Thus, the meaning of categories, such as disability, are constructed by interaction and may vary by both time and space. This is in contrast to objectivism that would treat disability as an external tangible reality.

The way ontology impacts on how one views organisations and categories is important. This study focusses on the mainstreaming of disability. As such it is important to consider in what way we look at disability, through an objectivist or constructivist perspective. Secondly this study deals with people in organisations. Again, the ontological perspective has a big influence on how one sees organisations. The ontological position adopted for this study is constructivism which acknowledges that disability is a social construct and acknowledges the influence individuals have on organisations. Furthermore, adopting this stance also recognises that people in organisations can have different understandings, ideas, etc. about organisations they work for.

5.1.2. Epistemology

After discussing two ontological positions which resulted in the adoption of constructivism for this study, this section will focus on epistemology and will discuss the three major positions. Epistemology, derived from the Greek word etymology, episteme (knowledge) and logos (reason) (Grix 2002: 17), is about how we know things and what the limits and source of knowledge are (Klein 2005). In a research context it is the interaction with the participant that is the primary source of knowledge production. The researcher's epistemological position will shape the conceptualisation of that knowledge and later decides how findings are communicated with their target audiences (O'Reilly and Kiyimba 2015). Three major epistemological positions can be distinguished (Carr and Kemmis 1986, Husein 1997, Jackson

1995), positivism, interpretivism and critical theory[24]. What follows is a discussion of the three major epistemological positions.

Positivism is a traditional approach which claims that social sciences are in many ways similar to other (physical) sciences (Bryman 2016, Furlong and Marsh 2010). As Durkheim (1982: 159) puts it: "since the law of causality has been verified in other domains of nature and has progressively extended its authority from the physical world to the biological world, and from the latter to the psychological world, one may justifiably grant that it is likewise true for the social world". Following this perspective the world exists as an objective entity, outside of the observer's mind (Della Porta and Keating 2008). The researcher can observe in a neutral way and without affecting the observed. His/her job is to describe and analyse this external reality in order to conform to the natural sciences an empirical approach is used. As becomes clear while exploring positivism, it is very closely linked to an objective perspective and a quantitative method approach. As Crotty (1998: 27) puts it: the world of a positivist is "A mathematised world". A more modern approach towards positivism is post-positivism. While still based on the natural sciences, it approaches research with less "arrogance". In post-positivism certainty becomes probability and absolute objectivity becomes objectivity to a certain extent (Crotty 1998). Moreover, post-positivism seeks to approximate the truth rather than grasp it in its totality.

Contrasting to positivism, interpretivism is founded on the view that a strategy is required which respects the difference between people and the natural sciences, therefore it is important to capture the subjective meaning of social actions (Bryman 2016: 26). It acknowledges that there are other ways of knowing about the world besides direct observation. Moreover, it is impossible to understand social phenomena without looking at the perceptions individuals have of the world (Della Porta and Keating 2008). Rather than describing reality, the job of the researcher is to interpret this reality. It is these interpretations that are crucial in understanding social phenomena. This perspective recognises that people act on their own beliefs and that we cannot differentiate people's beliefs and preferences from objective facts about them (Bevir and Rhodes 2002). A more modern approach to interpretivism is one where interpretivists want to go beyond understanding and include explanations. Bevir and Rhodes (2003: 38–39) argue that social science is about the development of narratives, not theories. However, they claim that

[24] While other positions exist, e.g. post positivism, post structuralism, realism, hermeneutics and others, it can be argued they have much in common with one of the three major positions (Nuryatno 2003).

although there is no access to pure facts, there still is the idea of objectivity and, as such, that interpretivism can be used for explanations (Bevir and Rhodes 2004, 2012) After discussing interpretivism, it becomes clear that it is closely related to the constructionist perspective and that there is a preference for qualitative methods.

A third epistemological position is that of a critical social science which is also referred to as critical enquiry, praxis, emancipatory research and the Frankfurt School. Critical theory developed mid-20th century and tied originally to the work of the Institute for Social Research established in Frankfurt (which is why some refer to critical theorists as the Frankfurt School) (Buckler 2010: 164). The critical perspective was strongly influenced by the need to rethink Marx's analysis/prediction that capitalism would be overthrown by a proletarian revolution (Buckler 2010). In recent years critical theory has expanded beyond the narrow perspective of the traditional Frankfurt School to a wider one that includes post-modernism/post-structuralism and feminism (Nuryatno 2003). What they have in common, is that they attempt to give voice to the voiceless. Or as Neuman defines critical social science:

> "a process of inquiry that goes beyond surface illusions to uncover the real structures in the material world in order to help people change conditions and build a better world for themselves." (Neuman 2014: 110)

As such, adopting this ideology would assume the research has a focus on creating change that would create a better situation for people. In the case of this research project, that means creating a better situation for PWD. Indeed, for this purpose, critical theory, as an epistemology, has been adopted in disability research (see Burbules and Burke 1999, Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011, Hutcheon and Wolbring 2012) and has led to the development of the social model of disability (Brittain 2002). This also fits well with the proposed outcomes of this research project which seeks to create change in grassroots sport organisations with a focus on improving the situation for PWD.

One of the basic assumptions in critical theory is that "certain groups in any society are privileged over others, constituting an oppression that is most forceful when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary and inevitable" (Crotty 1998: 158). This assumption fits with neo-pluralism which recognises the inequality amongst interest groups. Ableism can be seen as one of the systems in society that is often used to justify these hierarchies of rights and to exclude people from power and society in general (Wolbring 2008). Critical theory can be seen as a response to ableism and neo-pluralism as it strives towards equality, overcoming the

disadvantaged position. In essence, it strives towards the acceptance and support for “ability diversity”. It recognises that PWD have a unique voice emerging from their experiences as individuals and as a group. These experiences are as rich and varied as their impairments and disabilities (Rocco and Delgado 2011). As such, adopting critical theory would fit with the adopted theories of state and the theoretical lens of ableism.

The critical perspective acknowledges that research can be employed as a form of social action (Felske 1994). Central in this perspective is inter-subjectivity, participants are respected as equally knowing subjects (Felske 1994). Moreover, both the researcher and researched are interactively linked and influence each other. This means that facts and values cannot be separated. This emphasis on equality and by acknowledging the influence both the researcher and researched have on each other, drives the researcher towards dialogic and dialectical methods of research.

5.1.3. Disability and Epistemology

All three of the above perspectives have been used in disability studies with varying degrees of acceptance and success. Positivism has long been the dominating perspective in disability research (Oliver 1997), which is shown in the dominance of the medical model. Felske describes the impact of a positivist approach as follows:

> “the positivist paradigm has operated on the assumption that disability is a deficit, a problem in the individual. This view of the individual in need of medical "fixing" holds whether the impairment is physical or intellectual, temporary or lifelong. The positivist view holds that there is only one true reality and a careful application of the rules of observation, comparable to the methodology of the natural sciences, will produce the necessary theoretical constructs to predict and control events, to produce a ‘cure’.” (Felske 1994: 182–183)

As such we can say that a positivist perspective assumes that disability is a deficit, thus reinforcing it as an individual problem and ignoring social implications. Moreover, PWD have been viewed as passive research objects alienated from the research process. Because of this dominating positivist approach, the experience of disability has been profoundly distorted by excluding explanations based on social, structural and institutional factors. While the positivist approach might still be a viable perspective for some, it has been considered as a contribution to the oppression of PWD (Morris 1992, Stone and Priestley 1996).

An alternative perspective in disability studies is interpretivism. This perspective is also described as “a story telling view of disability” (Felske 1994: 185). This research perspective strives for empathetic understanding of people’s feelings and experiences. It recognises the

social realities of people and their multiple roles in society. However, the social relations of research production are still based on the same power differential between researcher and subject (Felske 1994). Or as Oliver (1992: 106) argues that although: "the interpretive paradigm has changed the rules, in reality it has not changed the game". Some go as far as calling interpretive research a "rape model of research" (Reinharz 1985). With this, Reinharz points out that researchers take the experience of disability, make a realistic description of it and then, move on to better things while leaving the research subjects in exactly the same social situation as they were in before the research began. It is exactly this last bit that has been the main critique of the interpretivist perspective. Despite seeking meanings from PWD, such research has little influence to alter things for them.

With all three epistemological perspectives discussed and some of its critique discussed, critical theory is found to most relevant to this research. Critical theory recognises disability as a social issue of discrimination and oppression. Moreover, it places PWD at the forefront, while striving to create change within organisations towards a more just society. Although the goals of critical inquiry to strive for a just society, freedom and equity may appear utopian, and possibly unachievable, the struggle is worthwhile as it may, at least, lead to a more free and just society than at present (Crotty 1998). Therefore, I am not naïve in believing that this research on its own may achieve that. As a result, this research may be looked at as an attempt at consciousness raising or "cognitive emancipation" as Tinning (1992) described it. Ultimately, political action achieves change whereas intellectual activity can create a climate in which change can become possible (Shakespeare 1996). Furthermore, a critical epistemological perspective creates synergy with the constructivist ontology, which acknowledges that disability is a social construct, the social model of disability and a neo-pluralist theory of state.

At this point it is appropriate to touch the issue of the researcher as an insider or outsider to the group being studied. Within social research and in particular within research that involves minorities, there has been debate about insider versus outsider (Acker 2000, Dwyer and Buckle 2009, Mullings 1999). What follows is a discussion on the perspectives of insider versus outsider research in disability studies.

5.2. Insider-Outsider controversies in disability research

The critical theory perspective employed in this study and explained on page 64, assumes that the researcher is part of the world that is being studied. As mentioned before, this inevitably implies that all studies are influenced, at least indirectly, by experiences, ideologies and priorities of the researcher. One potential influence that has not been addressed is that of the insider versus the outsider in the area of disability studies. Although discussion of insider and outsider has moved beyond binary opposites, within disability studies there is the tendency to categorise researchers as one or the other, based predominantly on their experience (or not) of impairment and disability (Macbeth 2010). The issue revolves around the nondisabled researcher in disability studies and has been the subject of some heated debate (Branfield 1998, Bury 1996, Drake 1997, Oliver and Barnes 1997, Shakespeare 1996, Stone and Priestley 1996). Zinn (1979: 210) summarised two opposing viewpoints that "the special insight of minority group scholars (insiders) renders them best qualified to conduct research in minority communities", whereas, on the other hand, "that nonminority researchers are better qualified for such research because minority scholars may lack the objectivity required".

Indeed, one side of the debate opposes the nondisabled researcher. Goodley (1999: 42) is straightforward in saying "there is no room for the distant outsider". However, there seems to be two main reasons. The first reason, sentiment against the nondisabled researcher in disability studies evolved from the way research has been done in the past. In the past, especially with the medical model of disability, PWD have been treated as passive recipients to be researched on (Fitzgerald 2009). As such, it comes as no surprise that PWD who have been part of research studies, have described themselves as being a "victim of research" (Hunt 1981). Decades of scientific research has perpetuated the marginalisation of PWD, justifying segregationist policies (Rioux and Bach 1994). It comes as no surprise that research has been experienced as a source of exploitation rather than liberation (Barnes and Mercer 1997). Oliver (1992) summarises the experience as follows:

> "…disabled people [sic] have come to see research as a violation of their experience, as irrelevant to their needs and as failing to improve their material circumstances and quality of life." (Oliver 1997: 105)

Even more recently, PWD are still worried about the power inequality within the research relationship (Kitchin 2000). Furthermore, they indeed show feelings of exploitation. One of the main reason for these feelings is the lack of post-study communication. Not knowing the results

or recommendations stemming from a study, has been articulated as one of the most annoying aspects of participating in research (Kitchin 2000).

A second argument to oppose the nondisabled researcher in disability studies is based on the grounds that nondisabled researchers, however sincere and sympathetic they are, lack the self-awareness and experience of PWD, which makes them ill equipped to conduct disability research (Branfield 1998: 143). Branfield seems to agree with the position that there is absolutely no room for the nondisabled researcher. She describes the relationship between the nondisabled and the disability movement as being very difficult, if not an impossible one. As such any attempt to justify the involvement of nondisabled people in disability research is doomed to failure.

Other researchers see problems with the discourse that Branfield is taking and see room for the nondisabled researcher. Duckett (1998: 625) sees Branfield's discourse as one of excluding nondisabled people, which goes against the ideology of inclusion and sustains the practice of segregation and oppression. Moreover, Duckett (1998: 626) believes that the distinction between disabled and nondisabled is not as simplistic and more fluid than it is often described. He clarifies: "nondisabled people regularly become disabled just as disabled people [sic] can become nondisabled[25]" and "disabled people [sic] do not come in a neat clear-cut package, there are as may differences within the disabled population as there are similarities". Duckett's arguments make it clear that the insider-outsider debate is a complex one. It is useful here to look into the notion of multiple insiders and outsiders. Shakespeare (2006) makes an important point towards the existence of multiple insiders and outsiders, asserting that:

> "Just because someone is disabled does not mean they have an automatic insight into the lives of other disabled people [sic]. One person's experience may not be typical, and may actively mislead them as to the nature of disability. Because impairments are so diverse, someone with one impairment may have no more insight into the experience of another impairment than a person without any impairment … The idea that having an impairment is vital to understanding impairment is dangerously essentialist." (Shakespeare 2006: 195)

However many different views on the outsider-insider debate, the one most researchers agree with is that more has to be done to see more disabled researchers, not only in the field of disability studies, but in research generally (Oliver and Barnes 1997, Shakespeare 1996).

[25] These identity shifts can be the result of social, economic, political and/or medical interventions.

Moreover, many researchers and PWD see the importance of the nondisabled researcher for a variety of reasons. For example, Fitzgerald (2009: 147) argues that "to exclude non-disabled researchers is to preclude the possibilities of research endeavours that do contribute to the understanding of the ways in which disabled people are oppressed within society". Furthermore, it is argued that this should be in partnership or in consultation with PWD (Kitchin 2000, Macbeth 2010, Shakespeare 1996, Woelders et al. 2015).

The debate on the insider versus the outsider is a worthwhile debate that extends beyond disability studies. Within the disability specific area, both sides bring up good arguments that need to be considered while doing research. To conclude in the words of Bury:

> "Good research needs people (whether 'disabled' or 'able-bodied' [sic]) who are trained properly to do so. It also requires that the researcher can be confident that findings that do not please specific interest groups or funders will not be dismissed or supressed." (Bury 1996: 113)

The perspectives discussed in the ontology/epistemology section and the issues discussed in this section raise further implications for the choices made regarding methodology and in the techniques of data collection (Grix 2002). It is to the methodology that I turn now.

5.3. Research Methodology

Methodology is concerned with the logic, potentialities and limitations of research methods (Grix 2002) which results in a research strategy. The choice of methodology or paradigm flows out of the research questions formulated for the study. The research question formulated in Chapter 1 indicates that this study is concerned with understanding the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy. Onweugbuzie and Leech (2006), suggest that an exploratory study looking to provide a better understanding in a specific issue tends to fit a qualitative approach. Additionally, if individual agency is deemed important in aiding the understanding of policy-making, as suggested by the neo-pluralist theory of state adopted for this study, then the "assumptive worlds" (Young 1977: 2) of key actors need to be explored. As such, this research adopts a mixed method approach within a qualitative methodology. The idea behind mixing methods is that the use of more than one method will provide a better and more complete understanding of a situation or phenomenon than when using a single method. The collected data from multiple methods is then combined by one building on the other. Within this strategy it is possible to give priority to one method of data collection and to use these methods sequentially in multiple phases of a study.

Building on this qualitative methodology, it is worth taking a more in-depth look at the context of the research question to inform the development of a research design. At its core, this research is concerned with the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy in the sport sector. As such, it is important to consider the different phases of the policy process: *policy formulation*, *translation* and *implementation*. In addition, this research is interested in the *target audience*, which is often neglected in the study of policy implementation (O'Toole 2000). Chapter 4 provided a useful discussion on how to analyse the policy process which can be

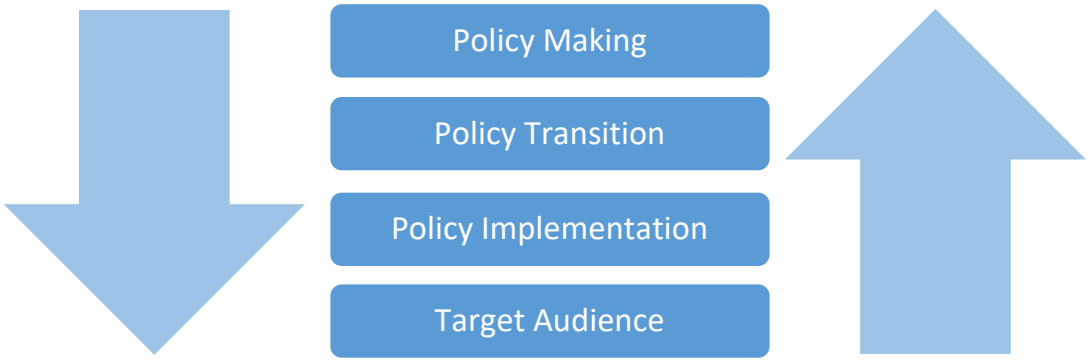


Figure 3 Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approach

approached from a top-down or bottom-up perspective. This study will adopt a dualistic approach combining a top-down approach with a bottom-up approach (see Figure 3, above). The top-down approach starts from policy making, i.e. the policy itself, and examines the interpretations and perceptions of mainstreaming policy by stakeholders in policy translation/implementation and the target audience. This approach gives insight into how policy is perceived, understood and changed before it reaches the target audience. On the other hand, the bottom up approach starts from the experiences of the target audience, PWD, and compares this to action in the field and the policy itself. This dualist approach allows for the comparison of the experiences and expectations of policy in the field with the policy intentions.

To be able to look at policy throughout these phases it is important to identify the key stakeholders involved as, ultimately, it is the stakeholders who shape and interpret policy. For this, research conducted by May, Harris and Collins (2013) serves as a good starting point. In their work they identified the key stakeholders for mainstream sport policy (see Appendix 4, page 296). However, their model does not suffice for this study as it is too broad on some aspects while lacking depth in others. For example, it does not include stakeholders from a disability sport perspective which is important to this study. Additionally, Bryman (2012) convincingly argues that research needs boundaries as it is impossible to answer all the research questions that occur to us. This has to do with time and costs of doing research but also very much with

keeping a clear focus and direction. Therefore, it is important to limit the scope of this study and, consequently, limit the number of stakeholders included in this study.

In light of keeping a clear focus and direction, the following three constraints are considered for this study. This study will focus on:

- Mainstreaming policy in grassroots sport.
- Two sports: athletics and swimming (see section 5.3.1 for selection criteria).
- The West-Midlands region of the UK.

These constraints make it possible to simplify the research design and reduce the number of stakeholders in a functional way. Taking the constraints into consideration, this study will solely focus on Sport England in the policy making phase. Sport England is an arms-length body of the government responsible for turning government ideology into a strategy for sport. Additionally, the influences of different departments on disability sport policy are reflected in the policy that Sport England sets out because the national agencies debate and agree on the policy objectives. Within the policy translation phase, this study will focus on the NGBs of the two chosen sports, NDSOs who provide sporting opportunities for a specific impairment group, and national partner organisations who directly or indirectly influence policy (i.e. the EFDS and UK Coaching). For the implementation phase, this study will focus on the grassroots sport clubs which have the main responsibility in the UK for policy implementation. However, it is noteworthy that the sport clubs themselves consists of different stakeholders as well. Research from Hoye and Cuskelly (2007), and Walters, Trenberth and Tacon (2010) identified these stakeholders with the coaches, management, members and non-participants being the most important ones for this study. An overview of the key stakeholders for this study and their interrelationship is shown in Figure 4, page 73, while a more extensive overview of stakeholders is shown in Appendix 5, page 297.

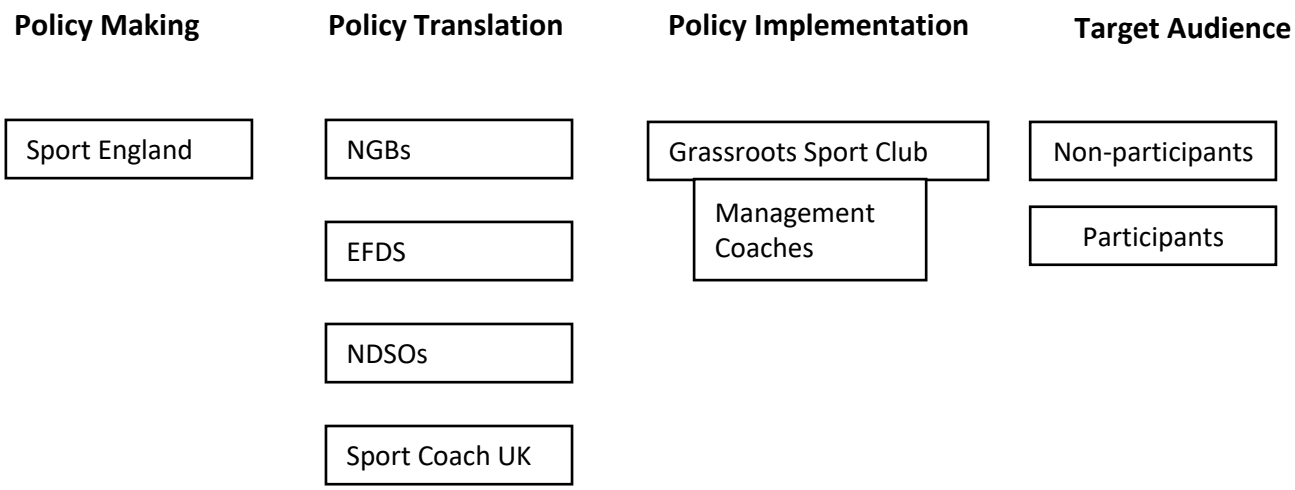


Figure 4 Key stakeholders in this study

5.3.1. Sport selection criteria

Following the identification of key stakeholders and in line with keeping a clear focus, this subsection focusses on defining which sports and NDSOs are included in this investigation. To keep a clear focus and direction, the scope of this research is limited to two sports. Many different sports exist with their own specifics. As such, for the selection of two sports for this study a couple of characteristics of sport were considered. The first criterion is the need for the sport to have clear links with both disabled and nondisabled participants. This can either be that the sport is practised in both mainstream and disability sport clubs or by integrating disability sport into mainstream sport. This is an important factor to take into consideration as it is anticipated that sporting activities with integrated disability are better in following government policies on mainstreaming. With the focus on mainstreaming policy within the mainstream sport sector, it seems appropriate to choose a mainstream sport which has disability sport integrated in their structure[26].

A second criterion is the need for a clear, formal organisational structure. This means that only those sports with a state recognised NGB are considered[27]. This is necessary to track policy throughout the policy phases. Thirdly, it is possible to divide sport activities into two distinct groups, individual sports and team sports. This may impact opportunities for integration into

[26] Sport England provides a list that differentiates between sports with integrated disability and those without (Sport England 2014).
[27] Sport England publishes a list of sports activities that have a recognised NGB (Sport England 2014).

mainstream sports and thus impact the study. In order to keep the differences between the two selected sports to a minimum, the two sports should be picked from the same group.

A fourth criterion is the participation rate of a specific sport and their evolution over the years. A first thing to consider is sports with a low participation rate compared to those with a high participation rate, particularly in relation to the participation of PWD. The idea is to compare a sport with growing participation of PWD to a sport with a declining participation rate. The reasoning behind this is that a sport with an increasing participation rate of PWD is an indication that the sport is embracing mainstreaming policy and performing well on it, while the opposite would be true for sports with a declining participation rate[28].

Taking into consideration that mainstreaming policy became a funding requirement for NGBs in 2008 (see Section 3.2), the participation trend is taken into consideration from this date. As a result, only four sports showed a positive evolution. These are athletics, Cycling, gymnastics and lacrosse. However, lacrosse is only played by 0.04% of the population (Sport England 2015) which makes it unsuitable for this study. Gymnastics is discarded based on conflicting evolutions between the fourteen-plus and sixteen-plus segment (Sport England 2015). This leaves athletics and cycling as the only possibilities for a sport that has a positive trend in sport participation. Looking at the participation rates of PWD, cycling has remained fairly stable over the years, while athletics showed a low but increasing participation rate from 0.6% to 1.2% (Sport England 2018) and, as such, is considered to be most viable for this study.

The second sport should be one with a decreasing participation rate and, considering that athletics was previously selected, should be an individual sport. A surprising eighteen sports showed a decreasing participation rate. However, taking the limitations into account and in light of finding a sport similar to athletics with the distinction of declining participation rates, swimming was found to be most viable for this study[29]. An overview of the selection criteria applied to swimming and athletics can be found in Table 10, page 75.

Lastly, it is noteworthy that Nichols and James (2008), and later May, Harris and Collins (2013), found a correlation between the size of a club and the level of formalization. This is relevant to

[28] Sport England collects data on the participation rates and their evolution of the UK populations through their active people survey (Sport England 2018).
[29] Three sports are considered: badminton, swimming and tennis. Both badminton and tennis reported low participation rates of people with disabilities which are fairly stable around 0.30-0.40% (Sport England 2018)

this study because the level of formalization impacts the likeliness of a club to have written club policies and a willingness to assist with government targets.

Table 10 Sport Selection Criteria Applied to Athletics and Swimming

(Sport England 2018)

In addition to the selection of two sports, a choice has to be made on which National Disability Sport Organisations (NDSOs) are included in this study. There are currently seven NDSOs recognised: British Blind Sport, Cerebral Palsy Sport, Dwarf Sport Association UK, English Learning Disability Sports Alliance (Mencap Sport and Special Olympics Great Britain), Limbpower, UK Deaf Sport and Wheelpower (English Federation of Disability Sport 2015). While all seven NDSOs were contacted, only two, Cerebral Palsy Sport (CP Sport) and Limbpower, showed an interest to participate in this study and, as such, were incorporated.

5.3.2. Research design

With a methodological paradigm selected and the key stakeholders defined, it is now possible to develop a research design for this study. This study adopted elements of a qualitative cross-sectional design. A cross-sectional research design entails the collection of data on more than one case at a single point in time (Bryman 2012: 58). This type of research is often used to describe characteristics that exist in a community and allow to understand what is happening at a certain point in time. A cross-sectional design fits well with the qualitative research paradigm as it has been argued that qualitative research methods usually have greater methodological strength than quantitative methods in a cross-sectional design (Rajshekhar et al. 2011 cited in Vakulchuk 2014). Qualitative methods allow for an in-depth understanding of underlying actions of the key stakeholders or phenomena under investigation (Rajshekhar et al. 2011 cited in Vakulchuk 2014). This fits well with the aims of this research which seeks to provide an in-depth

understanding of the principle-practice gap through exploring the stakeholders' experiences, perceptions and actions. This research design also allows for comparison between the two selected sports and between the different phases of the policy process. This design embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared to contrasting cases (Bryman 2012: 72). The research design is represented in Figure 5, below. The double arrows show the comparison between the two chosen sports while the two block arrows show the analysis from both the top-down and bottom up approach.

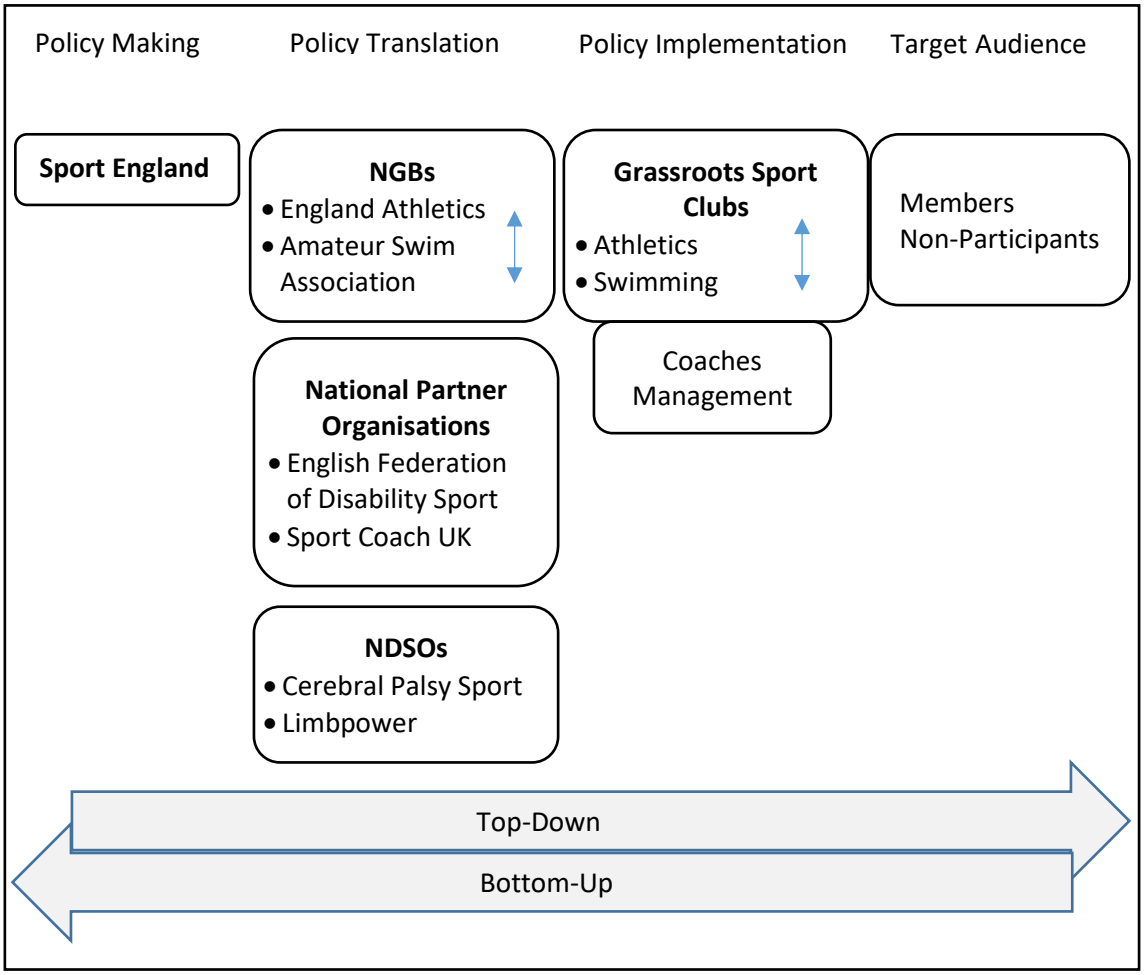


Figure 5 Research Design

5.4. Method of data collection

Staying within the qualitative research paradigm, there are two major approaches to the collection of data about a situation, person, problem or phenomenon. These two approaches can be categorised by the use of either secondary or primary data (Bryman 2016). Secondary data, also referred to as the analysis of documents, can be obtained from various sources such

as government publications, earlier research, personal records and mass media and is often the primary source of data for a literature review. Primary data is extracted directly from participants recruited for a specific study. There are multiple methods available for the extraction of primary data , for example, observations, interviews and questionnaires, however a full discussion on the various methods available is beyond the scope of this thesis (see Bryman 2016 for an in-depth discussion on research methods). Taking the aims and objectives of this research in mind, a method is needed that provides a better understanding of experiences, interpretations and actions. To this end, the study utilises individual qualitative interviews as its main method of data collection which fits well within a critical epistemology. This is complimented by document analysis, which proves especially useful for the literature review and a survey that is mainly used to gather preliminary data and to inform the interviews

Another approach that could have been adopted was the use of focus groups instead of individual semi-structured interviews to actively engage individuals in critical thinking and cross examination rather than critical questioning stemming solely from the researcher. However, it was felt that in a group environment, individuals might lose their anonymity and be less forthcoming in expressing their personal opinions and experiences, especially when taken into consideration the topic of this study which was experienced as confrontational by many of the interviewees. Furthermore, it is possible that individuals could dominate the conversation, suppressing the opinions and experiences of other individuals. And, lastly, the logistics of bringing together a group on the same time, date and place, might also have been problematic. What follows is a more in-depth look at the methods used and their purpose in this study.

5.4.1. Document analysis

In this study, documentary analysis is mainly used for the literature review chapters (see Chapters 2,3 and4). Existing documents give an idea about the research already conducted within a field or on a topic and, as such, provides materials to base this research on. Additionally, it provides the opportunity to situate the research in its historical and social context which allows to better comprehend the full grasp of the studied subject. Furthermore, document analysis is chosen to compliment and inform the use of interviews. Introducing documentary study next to a qualitative approach is a means of enhancing the understanding of the subject (May 2011). The use of documentary analysis will mainly draw on existing research and, policy and strategic documents of the government and sport organisations. This will help to position and give context to this study in addition to allow for the comparison of written policy intent to action in the field.

Handling these documents require a scientific approach and the four criteria proposed by Scott (2014) to ensure documents can be used in science are adopted for this study. Firstly, documents have to come from a reliable and genuine source, so called authenticity. Secondly it is important to consider the objectivity of the documents. The reasoning behind creating documents can influence and bias the content. Thus, checking the credibility of the documents is important. Thirdly, it is important to understand the representativeness of documents consulted. While typically this does not necessarily have implications for reliability or credibility, it can point to continuity or change. Lastly, documents used should provide an understanding of the meaning and significance of the document. Documents that are incomprehensible are simply of no use. In order to accommodate to these criteria, documents used were chosen from internationally recognised peer reviewed journals and books and from official government and organisational sources (Mogalakwe 2006).

5.5. Survey of grassroots sport organisations

A survey of grassroots sport organisations was conducted for two sports, athletics and swimming. The data gathered from the survey allowed the collection of descriptive statistics on the sport clubs and were an indication to what extent they were involved with disability sport. It provided an overview of the accessibility of mainstream sport clubs in the West-Midlands. More importantly it provided a clear regional picture on membership of PWD. By doing so, it helped shape an understanding of the sport landscape in the West-Midlands. Furthermore, the survey, in conjunction with the document analysis, provided an instrument to inform the two interviewing phases. The survey was developed and administered through an online self-administered questionnaire. What follows is an explanation of the sample, design and procedure of the survey used in this study.

5.5.1. Sample

We speak about a sample, because information collected often comes from only a fraction of the population, rather than from every member of the population (Floyd and Fowler 2014). This study adopted a non-probability sample method. Due to this, it is not safe to assume that the sample fully represents the target population (Ritchie et al. 2003). More specifically, a purposive sampling technique was applied. The three main criteria used to select the sample was the type of sport, the clear link of the sport organisation with their NGB and thirdly, their regional location. After accounting for these three criteria, a total population sampling method was applied. How this worked in practise is discussed further.

For this study, it was important that there was a clear connection between the NGB of the sport and the grassroots sport club. NGBs publish a list of sport clubs that are affiliated with them [30]. This list provided a good starting point for deciding which sport clubs to contact. When looking at the list, it is important to understand that it includes other organisations as well. For swimming, clubs who solely focus on diving, synchronised swimming and water polo were excluded leaving 1223 swim clubs. For athletics, event promoters were excluded from the list leaving 1287 athletic clubs[31]. However, as this study focusses on the West-Midlands, it was it was decided to only include clubs from this region

For ASA affiliated swim clubs, there are 80 swim clubs in the West-midlands. However, seventeen clubs were discarded as contact details were outdated or could not be found. Additionally, three sport clubs communicated that they did not want to participate in this study, leaving a sample size of 60 swim clubs. The survey conducted with swim clubs achieved a response rate of 30%. For Athletics, 124 clubs are in the West-Midlands. However, one of the clubs was a one-man-tribute club and as such was discarded from the study. Another twenty clubs were discarded because contact details were outdated or could not be found. Lastly, two clubs were excluded as they communicated that they did not want to participate in this study. This left a sample size of 102 athletics clubs. For athletics, a response rate of 30.5% was achieved. These response rates are considered to be reasonable good (Denscombe 2010) and are in range of other research conducted in the same field or with a similar sample (cf. May et al. 2013, Walters et al. 2010)

5.5.2. Design

This study uses self-administered questionnaires in the form of an online survey. The questionnaire was designed through the Boston Online Survey Tool[32]. It must be noted that this tool is supported by Coventry University and as such is in compliance with the ethical standards and requirements from Coventry University in regard to the use of online survey tools. Teijlingen and Hundley (2002) raised the importance of testing the survey before administering it. As such pilot questionnaires where send to three colleagues for review. As a result, some minor technical

[30] In the case of swimming and athletics these list are publicly available online (ASA 2016, England Athletics 2016)
[31] This includes athletic clubs, running clubs and triathlon clubs.
[32] This is an easy to use tool that allows the development and deployment of surveys through the Web.

and grammatical amendments were made to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was titled "Sport Club Survey" and was divided in four sections, see table 11, below.

Table 11 Sections of the Survey

Section	Content
A	Participant consent and information – the first section contained information on the project, how data will be handled and protected, and the participant consent form
B	Details of the sport club – including the total number of members and numbers on how many members have a disability
C	Accessibility and Coaching – including questions on the accessibility of training programmes and background of coaches
D	Interest in participating further in the research project – sport clubs could show their interest to participate in interviews conducted for the second phase of the research.

The questionnaire contained ten main questions with some of them having follow up questions. The survey was intentionally kept short to maximise response rate. A range of closed and open questions was used, including "yes" and "no" tick boxes, multiple choice responses and open-ended questions to gather rich textual data. Appendix 6, page 298, provides an example question of the survey which shows the rerouting capabilities of the online survey as well as giving an indication of the type of questions that were common for the questionnaire.

5.5.3. Procedure

It was attempted to disperse the survey in collaboration with the respective NGBs. However, this was unsuccessful and as a result the survey had to be dispersed by the researcher to each individual sport club. The finalised questionnaire was sent in the form of a link: "https://coventry.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/sport-club-survey" and was accommodated by a cover letter. The emails were send out on March 3rd, 2016. A day later, all the online contact forms were filled out. For athletics 77% of correspondence was through email and 23% through online contact forms. Similarly, for swimming 72% of correspondence was through email and 28% through online contact forms. The survey stayed open until the end of April 2016 and non-respondents were reminded up to two times during this period.

5.6. Qualitative interviews with key informants and people with disabilities

Semi-structured interviews where used in phase two to generate insights into mainstreaming policy. These interviews can be divided into three categories: interviews with key personnel of national sport organisations in England, key personnel of grassroots sport clubs in the West-

Midlands and interviews with PWD. These interviews focussed on the collection of data that provides an in-depth understanding of perception, perspectives and attitudes towards mainstreaming policy. This includes the experiences of PWD with mainstream sport clubs and how this may differ from disability specific sport clubs.

5.6.1. Key informant sample

Considering the aims of this research, which focusses on the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming, a stakeholder analysis was conducted to identify the key actors under investigation. As such, a purposive sampling technique was used to select the key informants for this study. This is in line with Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) who suggest that the development of an in-depth understanding of a phenomena is best achieved by using purposeful sampling strategies. Furthermore, an expert informant is often more knowledgeable than a randomly selected member of the community (Marshall 1996, Tremblay 1957). The key informants participating in this study are found in Tables 12 and 13, page 82.

The key criteria used for the selection of key informants are in line with suggestions from Tremblay (1957). The first thing to consider is the knowledge and role of the informant. The key informant needs to be in a position that exposes them to the information sought and should be actively engaged with the information. This will ensure the informant has absorbed the information in a meaningful way. For the national organisations, this means that the key informant should be either part of the disability department, or at least be (co)responsible for disability policies within the organisation. For the grassroots sport clubs, this means that key informants should be part of the management or involved with coaching in the club. Secondly, it is important to consider the willingness and communicability of potential informants. It is important that the informant is willing to share and communicate about the information as good co-operation is required to get the most out of the interview. Additionally, a good informant is able to communicate this information in a manner that is understandable for the researcher. While these are not criteria that can easily be applied before one starts looking for key informants, it is something that becomes clear during preliminary communication with potential informants.

Table 12 Key informants of grassroots sport clubs included in this study

Sport clubs

Pseudonym	Function	Sport
Bard	Chair	Triathlon
Lee	Head junior coach	Triathlon
Darius	Website manager and coach	Triathlon
Ashe	Chair, head coach and website manager	Athletics
Braum	Chair, head coach and Coach Instructor	Athletics
Camille	Secretary	Athletics
Quinn	Coach	Athletics
Shaco	Honorary President	Athletics
Talon	Coach	Athletics
Caitlyn	Development Manager and Coach Instructor	Swimming
Lucian	Chair	Swimming
Olaf	Inclusion Manager	Swimming
Riven	Head Coach	Swimming
Sivir	Head of Teaching	Swimming
Taliyah	Secretary	Swimming

Table 13 Key informants of national organisations included in this study

Sport organisations

Pseudonym	Position	Organisation
Aphrodite	Diversity and Inclusion Lead	UK Coaching
Apollo	Health and Wellbeing Manager	Swim England
Artemis	National Disability Manager	England Athletics
Athena	Disability Manager	Sport England
Demeter	National Advisor	EFDS
Tyche	National Advisor	EFDS
Hera	National Sport Development Officer	CP Sport
Hermes	National Sport Development Officer	Limb Power

5.6.2. People with disabilities sample

Sampling for semi-structured interviews has been discussed more extensively in the previous subsection. However, the method of sampling adopted for PWD differs significantly from the sampling method adopted for the key-informants. The main method of sampling used here is snowball sampling. This is a method which is widely used in qualitative sociological research (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981). This involves asking participants for recommendations of people they know who might qualify for participation. This in turn leads to "referral chains" (Robinson 2014). Moreover, Becker et al. (2004) suggest that individuals with disabilities are more likely to

participate in a study when they have been approached by someone they know and trust. Schur (1998) adds, that this method tends to yield maximum cooperation, especially in studies like this one that involve potentially sensitive topics. This method of sampling has been successfully used in the field of disability research (see Albrecht and Devlieger 1999, Leiter 2016, Schur 1998).

In many instances, researchers will not be able to reach PWD directly and often have to go through "gatekeepers" who have access to the target population (Becker et al. 2004). For this study, the above was taken into account and it was hoped that the sport clubs, who participated in this research project, would act as gatekeepers to the target population. However, in practise, only three participants were recruited this way. This had either to do with the sport clubs not willing to collaborate in recruiting PWD for the study or, in most cases, the lack of members with disabilities in mainstream sport clubs that were interviewed for this study. In some cases, the author was confronted with disinterest from PWD to participate in the study. For example, one sport club made an introduction with seven of their members, but none of them ended up participating in the study. This could be related to the historical perspective of PWD on research (see Section 5.2) and was a major setback for the study as it proved challenging to find participants.

To address this issue, new strategies were implemented to find the necessary participants. This included going through other gatekeepers, such as disability charity organisations. A different approach was the use of virtual networks. Baltar and Brunet (2012) suggest this method can increase the sample size and representativeness of purposive sampling with "hard-to-reach" populations. In accordance, it was attempted to recruit participants through online disability forums. This resulted in nine PWD participating in this study shown in Table 14.

Table 14 People with disabilities interviewed for this study

PWD		
Pseudonym	**Disability**	**Nature of Disability**
Daphne	Hearing impaired	Congenital
Daisy	Cerebral Palsy (CP)	Congenital
Jacob	Complex Radio Pain Syndrome (CRPS)	Acquired
Kino	Amputee and brain injury	Acquired
Lily	Visual impairment	Congenital
Lupin	Cerebral Palsy (CP)	Congenital
Nigella	Harlequin Ichthyosis	Congenital
Tansy	CP, epileptic and learning impaired	Congenital
Violet	Down-syndrome	Congenital

5.6.3. Design

The method used to collect data from the key informants and PWD was semi-structured interviews. This entails the use of an interview guide with a list of topics to be covered and, to some extent, specific questions to ask. This helps the interviewer to navigate through the interview and assures that all topics and main questions are addressed while leaving the flexibility to explore questions in more depth. The interview guide was informed by the documentary analysis and the survey conducted in phase one. Appendix 7, page 299, provides an example of the semi-structured interviews conducted with key informants. This particular example comes from an interview with one of the grassroots sport clubs. The first question asked in the example comes from the interview guide while the second question is a follow up question that builds on something that was said earlier in their response, to gain more information on the topic. This shows the flexibility that a semi-structured interview brings to the data collection process. This particular example provides a unique perspective on how a club chair/coach views mainstreaming.

5.6.4. Procedure

The interviews were conducted between August 2016 and April 2017. All respondents were initially contacted by email with a summary of the study and the contribution their interview would make to the research project. Decisions about the time and place for the interview was discussed with the interviewee. The objective was to make the interviews as comfortable and convenient as possible[33] .Besides time and place of the interview, it is also important to think about how to dress and present oneself for the interviews.

> "The decision of how to present oneself is very important, because after one's presentational self is 'cast' it leaves a profound impression on the respondents and has great influence on the success (or failure) of the study" (Fontana and Frey 1994: 367).

Part of representing oneself is how you dress. The issue of how one dresses themselves is not often considered and rarely discussed in discussions on doing research (Scraton and Flintoff 1992). Yet, it is found to be a subtle, but important part of conducting interviews and doing research (Smart 1992). Dressing for the occasion of conducting interviews does take some

[33] Therefore, most interviews took place at either the organisation/club or at the PWD's home. However, there were five exceptions: three interviews were held over the phone, one was held in a coffee shop and one in the foyer of a hotel.

consideration and raised some questions. Do we dress the same for all the interviews or perhaps we dress differently for each occasion? Do we dress to look like the respondents and fit with the circumstances we are interviewing in (Thompson 1985) which perhaps means turning up at sport clubs in sports gear. Or should we present ourselves as representatives from academia (Becker 1956) which could possibly mean dressing up in a suit. But what does an interviewer even look like in the minds of the interviewees? Should we physically carry a clipboard? In the end I decided to go for what Brittain (2002) refers to as "smart-casual". He combined smart shoes and trousers with a shirt and casual Adidas jacket. Similarly, I decided to go for smart brown shoes, smart navy trousers, a casual plain t-shirt and a leather jacket. I adopted Brittain's strategy in the hope to be considered professional, yet not been seen as a complete "outsider".

In advance of the interviews, the key informants were notified that interviews would last around one hour and they were asked to leave some time in case it ran a bit longer. On average, the interviews indeed lasted one hour, with one interview lasting twice as long. The rather lengthy interviews allowed for rich discussions and the collection of a substantive amount of data. On the day of the interview, introductions were made and, where the location allowed it, a cup of tea was offered. This often went together with some informal talk about what the research project is about. After what could be seen as an icebreaker, the formal interview was started. In adherence with Coventry University Ethical guidelines, a formal induction of the study was made and written consent was obtained from the participants. This consent emphasised that the interview would be recorded and that anonymised quotes could be used as part of the research project. The anonymity of participants was assured by assigning pseudonyms. Moreover, in cases where key informants were likely to be identified, they have been contacted to discuss how to progress.

5.7. Data analysis

This study requires a qualitative interpretation of both textual documents and oral sources. The qualitative data analysis in this study consists mainly from deriving information from interviews. This study used thematic coding[34] to help with the very large amount of raw data. Coding can be viewed in two separate phases. The first phase is the labelling phase where the same ideas are allocated a name for that idea – the label. The second phase groups the initial labels into a

[34] Coding is the process of identifying several passages of text that exemplify the same idea.

smaller number of themes (Gibbs 2007, Miles and Huberman 1994). These themes are chosen because of their importance in relation to the research question (Robson 2011). The coding phase is then followed by constructing thematic networks, developing a thematic map of the analysis. Finally, the themes and labels are explored using the theme network as a tool to understand and make sense of the data. The use of a thematic analysis is an approach of constant comparison and theoretical sampling that fits well with an exploratory study and a critical epistemology (Aronson 1994).

To help with the analysis, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) was used. More specifically, NVivo, which is often recommended (Bryman 2012, Gibbs 2002), was used to aid in the analysis of this research. Using the software comes with some considerations. One of the main criticisms of using CAQDAS is the risk of decontextualizing data (Buston 1997, Fielding and Lee 1998). It is important to keep an awareness of context while analysing the data. It is also argued that the use of CAQDAS does not go well with certain methods such as focus groups because the interaction between participants gets lost in translation (Catterall and Maclaran 1997). On the other hand, the use of software is praised for making the coding and retrieval process faster and more efficient (Bryman 2012) and is proven to be helpful in the development of explanations (Mangabeira 1995). Lastly, it is often discussed that qualitative data analysis is often unclear in reports of findings. It is suggested that the use of CAQDAS enhances transparency of the process because it forces the researcher to be more explicit and reflective about the process of analysis (Bryman and Burgess 1994).

5.7.1. Transcribing

Data collection through the use of semi-structured interviews results in hours' worth of audio. With that in mind, it is important for any researcher to adopt a data management strategy that works for them. Although the method of data management is important, and a time-consuming task, details around its process are often poorly described or even left out of publications. Often researchers make reports of the collection of audio which is going to be analysed and make a brief reference to data management. However, the process is not often described in publications (Halcomb and Davidson 2006, Poland 1995, Wellard and McKenna 2001).

Traditionally data management, is done through transcribing the audio. Transcription refers to "the process of reproducing spoken words, such as those from an audiotaped interview, into written text" (Halcomb and Davidson 2006: 38). This process of transcribing is often seen as a tiresome, lengthy and challenging process, for which specialised skills and patience is necessary

(Tilley 2003). While transcribing is an exhausting and intense experience, it has been suggested that it allows the researcher to grow closer and more familiar with their data (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999, Wengraf 2001). It also provides an opportunity to review and critique one's own work, turning it into a learning experience and potentially improve on their interview techniques (Jack and Anderson 1991). After experimenting with some other methods of transcription (see Appendix 8, page 301) it was decided to adopt the traditional way of transcribing audio, by using verbatim transcription. Verbatim transcription can be referred to as "the word-for-word reproduction of verbal data, where the written words are an exact replication of the audio recorded words" (Poland 1995).

However, verbatim transcription is not considered to be a perfect representation of the interview. Moreover, even the audio recording of an interview is not considered as a perfect representation. Much of the emotional and non-verbal communication is not captured on audio recordings (Poland 1995). These factors are often interpreted unconsciously by the interviewer, while not being recorded by the voice recorder. Following the same reasoning, turning the audio recording into written text is not a perfect representation either (Kvale 1996, Mishler 1991). As such, it is more correct to view the transcript as an interpretation of an event, instead of an event itself. The process of transcription can be viewed as an active and creative process, which involves the purposive selection of talks to be prioritised (Forbat and Henderson 2005). This is an important limitation of transcriptions and should be kept in mind while doing analysis on transcripts. One way to try and mitigate some of these critiques, is to re-listen to parts of the transcripts during the analysis process.

Following the decision to use verbatim transcription as method for transcribing, it was important to select a software program to assist with this. While it is possible to verbatim transcribe without software, it is found easier to do so. For this study, different transcription software packages were considered. However, cloud-based solutions[35] were discarded as a result of ethical considerations as it is hard to assess in which ways data is stored by these companies, what rights they might give themselves over the data and how secure their data storage is. Thus, a couple of desktop-based software packages were tested[36] which resulted in the selection of F4 transkript which offers automated time stamps and turn taking.

[35] For example, "now transcribe", "otranscribe" and "transcribe wreally" are cloud based.
[36] The following software packages were tested: express scribe, transcrivia 2 and F4 transkript

When the transcription process is finished, a last question presents itself. Should the interviewee have the opportunity to review the transcript and make corrections or not. It has been suggested that it is good practice to take the research accounts back to the field and check transcripts with participants (Adler and Adler 2002, Mann 2016). One of the principle reasons for having the interviewees participate in the transcription process, is to ensure validity of the transcript (Polit and Beck 2007). A second reason to adopt these practises, is to avoid significant errors that may have an impact on the quality of the transcript and in turn on the analysis or entire research project (Mero-Jaffe 2011). Finally, Lapadat (2000) suggests that sharing transcripts with the interviewees is a way to further stimulate discussion on various topics mentioned in the text.

However, the practise of involving interviewees with checking transcripts is still comparatively rare (Mero-Jaffe 2011). This might have to do with a number of ethical and reflexive issues surrounding the involvement of the interviewee in checking transcripts. For starters, it is not easy to predict how participants might react to their transcripts. Often the objective of the researcher and that of the interviewee are not the same. While the researchers objective with sharing the transcripts is about validity, the interviewee might be more concerned about how they are represented (Forbat and Henderson 2005). As such, the researcher needs to be aware that sharing transcripts can have adverse effects to the ones initially intended. For example, the intent can be driven by empowering the participants in the study but, it can be experienced as threatening (Forbat and Henderson 2005). As such, it has been found that when interviewees do make changes, only a minority have been found to make changes, however, the transcript is no longer an accurate description of the interview (Hagens et al. 2009). Moreover, it is been found that interviewee transcript review, does not add much to the accuracy of the transcript (Hagens et al. 2009). For these reasons, and to minimise the time constraints this study has on the participants, it was decided to not use an interview review process that involves the interviewee. For transparency, all equipment used in the transcription process is detailed below in Table 15.

Table 15 Interview and Transcription Equipment

Type of equipment	**Brand**	**Model**
Voice recorder – Smartphone	Xiaomi	MI5
Transcription software	Audiotranskription.de	F4Transkript
Headphones/Microphone	EasyAcc	P6949 headset
Speech-recognition software	Nuance	Dragon Premium Ver. 13
Data Analysis	Qsrinternational	NVivo 11

5.7.2. Thematic analysis

The main method of data collection used in this study was semi-structured interviews. This results in a very large amount of raw data. Data analysis is a way of making sense of this large amount of data and can be done through a variety of methods. Methods of qualitative analysis can be roughly divided into two camps. Methods in the first camp are those tied to a particular theoretical or epistemological position, for example conversation analysis (Hutchby and Wooffit 1998), discourse analysis (Burman and Parker 1993, Willig 2003) and grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998). The second camp, however, are methods that are essentially independent of theory and epistemology. As such, these methods can be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches. Thematic analysis sits firmly in the second camp, and provides the advantage of being flexible (Braun and Clarke 2006). This flexibility of thematic analysis allows its use for this study in combination with the proposed ontological and epistemological positions earlier discussed.

Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke 2006). It is a method of organising raw data in a functional way. Furthermore, it describes the data in more detail and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis 1998). Often the process of thematic analysis is described in vague terms such as: several themes emerged during the analysis. These passive accounts of themes emerging denies the active role the researcher plays in identifying patterns or themes (Taylor and Ussher 2001). It is the researcher who selects themes that are of interest and reports them to the readers. The emerging of themes can be misunderstood to mean that "themes 'reside' in the data, and if we just look hard enough they will 'emerge' like Venus on the half shell. If themes 'reside' anywhere, they reside in our heads from our thinking about our data and creating links as we understand them." (Elly et al. 1997: 205–6). Because selecting themes and patterns is an active process, it is important to acknowledge our own theoretical position and values. Our position and values, and in a broader sense our objective with the research will have an impact on what themes emerge. The themes that emerge capture something important about the data in relation to the research questions (Robson 2011).

5.7.3. Process of analysis

For clarity and transparency reasons, a description regarding the process of analysis will now be given, e.g. how this research went from a series of interview transcripts to the themes presented in the findings chapters. Bernard (2006: 452) states that analysis "is the search for patterns in

data and for ideas that help explain why those patterns are there in the first place". The first step after data collection and transcription is data reduction (Miles and Huberman 1994). Data reduction refers to the process of choosing, focusing, simplifying, building and transforming data, i.e. the process of coding and categorising. The process of coding included allocating a summative, essence-capturing attribute for a portion of the language-based data, shown in Figure 6, page 91. This allowed for the qualitative data to be "segregated, grouped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning and explanation" (Grbich 2007: 21).

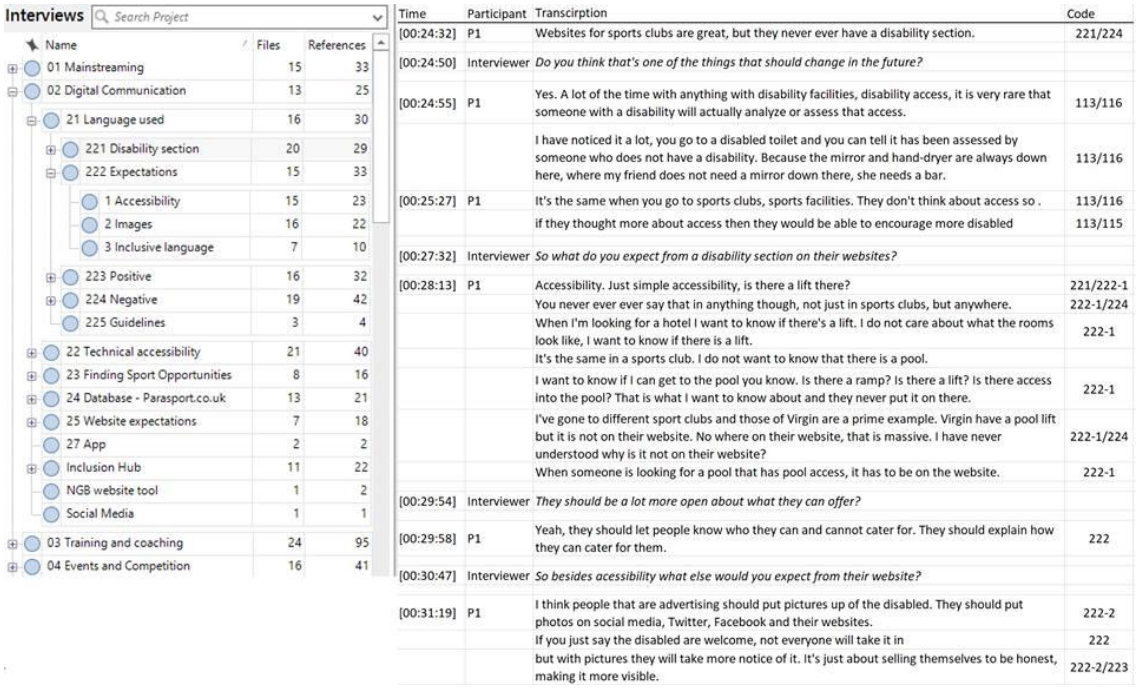
Coding is only the initial step toward an even more rigorous and evocative analysis and interpretation, which is followed by categorising. This is a method for organising and grouping similarly coded data into "families" or categories because they share some characteristics. As such, after the initial coding, the codes were clustered together according to similarity and regularity which allowed for patterns to emerge. These patterns actively facilitated the development of categories and analysis of their connections. It must be noted that both the process of coding and categorising was informed by existing literature and the pre-existing knowledge of the researcher. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998), familiarity with relevant literature can enhance sensitivity to subtle nuances in data, provide a source of concepts for making comparisons to data and stimulate questions. Indeed, it was found that conducting a literature review, and as such being familiar with the existing literature, helped the process coding and categorising. It was a source of inspiration which helped the researcher to detect patterns and draw attention to details in data while simultaneously encouraging the researcher to take a critical stance and challenge "emergent" concepts and ideas.

This process of coding and categorising was found to be a cyclical act as it was experienced that the first cycle of coding was rarely perfect. Based on abductive reasoning, much like the fictional detective Sherlock Holmes, the process of coding and categorising constantly moved back and forth between the data, literature review and pre-existing knowledge of the researcher to make comparisons and interpretations in the search for patterns and the best possible explanations. Abbott (2004: 215) cleverly uses a metaphor to explain this process: it is like "decorating a room; you try it, step back, move a few things, step back again, try a serious reorganization, and so on". Therefore, the further cycles of recoding and categorising further managed, filtered, highlighted and focussed the salient features of the qualitative data.

When the major categories are compared with each other and consolidated in various ways, it is possible to "transcend the reality of your data" (Saldana 2016: 13) and progress towards the

thematic which is represented by the result chapters (see chapters 7-9). The process of coding and categorising is shown in Figure 6, below, which illustrates how the codes were applied to segments of the transcribed interviews and how these codes were then grouped together and linked in subcategories, categories and themes.

To summarise, the process of analysis is not just labelling parts of text with a code, it is about finding the links between codes, "It leads you from the data to the idea, and from the idea to all the data pertaining to that idea" (Richard and Morse 2007: 137). Analysis is based on categorisation and analytical reflection which is informed by the existing literature and pre-existing knowledge of the researcher.



Interviews — Search Project

Name	Files	References
01 Mainstreaming	15	33
02 Digital Communication	13	25
21 Language used	16	30
221 Disability section	20	29
222 Expectations	15	33
1 Accessibility	15	23
2 Images	16	22
3 Inclusive language	7	10
223 Positive	16	32
224 Negative	19	42
225 Guidelines	3	4
22 Technical accessibility	21	40
23 Finding Sport Opportunities	8	16
24 Database - Parasport.co.uk	13	21
25 Website expectations	7	18
27 App	2	2
Inclusion Hub	11	22
NGB website tool	1	2
Social Media	1	1
03 Training and coaching	24	95
04 Events and Competition	16	41

Time	Participant	Transcirption	Code
[00:24:32]	P1	Websites for sports clubs are great, but they never ever have a disability section.	221/224
[00:24:50]	Interviewer	*Do you think that's one of the things that should change in the future?*	
[00:24:55]	P1	Yes. A lot of the time with anything with disability facilities, disability access, it is very rare that someone with a disability will actually analyze or assess that access.	113/116
		I have noticed it a lot, you go to a disabled toilet and you can tell it has been assessed by someone who does not have a disability. Because the mirror and hand-dryer are always down here, where my friend does not need a mirror down there, she needs a bar.	113/116
[00:25:27]	P1	It's the same when you go to sports clubs, sports facilities. They don't think about access so .	113/116
		if they thought more about access then they would be able to encourage more disabled	113/115
[00:27:32]	Interviewer	*So what do you expect from a disability section on their websites?*	
[00:28:13]	P1	Accessibility. Just simple accessibility, is there a lift there?	221/222-1
		You never ever ever say that in anything though, not just in sports clubs, but anywhere.	222-1/224
		When I'm looking for a hotel I want to know if there's a lift. I do not care about what the rooms look like, I want to know if there is a lift.	222-1
		It's the same in a sports club. I do not want to know that there is a pool.	
		I want to know if I can get to the pool you know. Is there a ramp? Is there a lift? Is there access into the pool? That is what I want to know about and they never put it on there.	222-1
		I've gone to different sport clubs and those of Virgin are a prime example. Virgin have a pool lift but it is not on their website. No where on their website, that is massive. I have never understood why is it not on their website?	222-1/224
		When someone is looking for a pool that has pool access, it has to be on the website.	222-1
[00:29:54]	Interviewer	*They should be a lot more open about what they can offer?*	
[00:29:58]	P1	Yeah, they should let people know who they can and cannot cater for. They should explain how they can cater for them.	222
[00:30:47]	Interviewer	*So besides acessibility what else would you expect from their website?*	
[00:31:19]	P1	I think people that are advertising should put pictures up of the disabled. They should put photos on social media, Twitter, Facebook and their websites.	222-2
		If you just say the disabled are welcome, not everyone will take it in	222
		but with pictures they will take more notice of it. It's just about selling themselves to be honest, making it more visible.	222-2/223

Figure 6 Illustration of the coding and categorisation process

5.8. Validity and Reliability

A central methodological issue that needs to be considered by the researcher is the validity and reliability of the data collected through the various methods outlined above. The essence of qualitative research is to make sense of and recognize patterns among words in order to build up a meaningful picture without compromising its richness and dimensionality. Social science relies on phenomenological interpretation, which inextricably tie in with human senses and subjectivity. While human emotions and perspectives from both subjects and researchers are considered undesirable biases confounding results in quantitative research, the same elements are considered essential and inevitable, if not treasurable, in qualitative research as they add

extra dimensions and colours to enrich the corpus of findings (Leung 2015). Because of this, social science research in general and qualitative research in the social sciences in particular is criticised by exponents of quantitative research in the human sciences for its subjective interpretation and the difficulty in generalising to a similar situation or population (Berg 2001, Bryman 2016, 2012, May 2011). According to Yin (1994), careful attention to validity and reliability helps to ensure rigour and addresses human science researchers criticisms of qualitative methods. To this end, this research adopts various strategies to assure validity and reliability and as such the rigour of the research conducted.

5.8.1. Validity

Validity in qualitative research means "appropriateness" of the tools, processes, and data. In essence, validity refers to the "trustworthiness" of the data (Swinton and Mowat 2006). There are a number of different types of validity (Berg 2004, Bryman 2016) and consequently strategies to increase validity of the research of which the most relevant to this study are now discussed.

Whilst qualitative research is always open to subjective interpretation, the use of more than one form of evidence and the coding of the interview, survey and documentary analysis provides a reasonable basis for reliability (Mayring 2000, Yin 1994). Following Fielding and Schreier (2001), the first strategy this study adopts is triangulation as a method to assure "construct validity". Whereby, multiple sources of evidence are used. The documents, survey, interviews and field notes provide four sources of data that will be used to substantiate the claims made in the discussion. Thus, the themes and findings that emerged are based on more than one account or data source.

A second strategy adopted, in terms of increasing "content validity" (Drost 2011), is the utilisation of a purposive sampling technique in combination with a stakeholder analysis (Leung 2015, Palinkas et al. 2015). Purposive samples are based on criteria that the investigator establishes at the outset, which describe participant characteristics. Here, the goal is to recruit participants who have the experience and knowledge to respond to the questions. This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011).

A last concern regarding validity under consideration here is that of the researchers bias and influence. As previously argued, this is an inherent aspect of qualitative research. As such, qualitative methodologies accept that the investigator is part of what is being studied and will

influence it, and that this does not devalue a study but, in fact, enhances it (Grossoehme 2014). However, to asure validity, the research adopted an etymological and ontological stance that reflects this reality in which bias and influence is considered. This provides clarity and understanding for another researcher to be able to understand what was done and why from reading the research.

5.8.2. Reliability

Reliability is largely concerned with whether a study can be repeated (Holt and Mason 2000, Kvale 1996, Yin 2003). In essence, will the same results be derived, if the same procedures are followed but by a different researcher or at a different time. However, within the paradigm of qualitative research this is considered counter-intuititive (Leung 2015). This is due to the likelihood of changes in values, opinions and experiences resulting from the passage of time between the initial research and the subsequent replication of the study. As such, it has beeen agued that the essence of reliability for qualitative research lies with consistency (Leung 2015).

As a strategy to ensure consistency, this study attempts to provide transparency in methodology, methods and analsysis utilised. The process of data collection should be detailed enough to allow readers to confirm the generation of categories and conclusions and the regularity of the processes (Swinton and Mowat 2006). Therefore, detail is provided about the sample, design and procedure of data collection in addition to a detailed description about the process of analysis e.g. the route from transcript to the themes presented in the findings chapters. As such, the thesis should provide sufficient detail about the group studied and the context in which they were studied which allows the reader to make judgements about how far they wish to extrapolate or transfer these findings to other groups. As such, by adopting a well-documented audit trail of materials and processes this study should be able to address concerns of reliability.

5.9. Research ethics

To ensure research is socially and morally acceptable, it is necessary to consider the ethics of social science. This ensures that the study fits within the boundaries of modern societal demands (Gratton and Jones 2004). The discussion of ethics revolves around how to treat the people on whom the research is conducted and which activities to engage or not engage in with them (Bryman 2012). Different organisations are involved in ethical considerations, such as the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Social Research Association but also the specific research institute itself (Coventry University) who all formulate codes of ethics. The basic ethical

principles are broken down into five main areas (Bryman 2012, Diener and Crandall 1978, Robson 2011, Trochim 2006):

- voluntary participation
- informed consent
- deception
- risk of harm
- confidentiality and anonymity

The first principle is that of voluntary participation. This means that participants are entering the study without being coerced. This also implies that participants can withdraw from the study at any time for whatever reason if they wish to do so. Closely related to the principle of voluntary participation is informed consent. Informed consent revolves around the question of whether participants should be informed about the study or not and the implications of not informing them. The third principle is also closely related. Deception occurs when researchers represent their work as something other than it is. This creates the possibility that participants enter a study under false pretences taking away their "voluntary" participation and right to be informed. Fourthly, research that is likely to harm participants is regarded by most people as unacceptable. But harm can take many forms, both physical and psychological. While this study had very slim chance of causing harm to participants, it is important to be aware that interviewing participants can create a certain amount of stress. The issue of harm to participants is further addressed by the other ethical principles. Lastly it is important to ensure confidentiality of data. This implies taking steps in protecting and using data in such ways that the privacy of participants is respected. Anonymity concerns the question of whether participants will remain anonymous throughout the study. It is a stronger guarantee of privacy, but sometimes harder to accomplish.

For this study, these ethical principles resulted in the following procedures in relation to interviewees.

- The selected interviewees were contacted by email, phone or in person to enquire about their interest in the study. The research aims and the broad topics of the interview were explained.
- Once the interviewee granted permission for the interview, a more formal letter was sent outlining more specifically which topics were to be covered and the date, time and place was confirmed.
- At the start of the interview the purpose of the study was explained and an information and consent form was presented. The interviewee was made aware that participation was completely voluntary and that they may refuse to answer any question and even withdraw from the study at any given moment. It was explained in which way data would be stored and specific permission was asked to record the

interview. It was also explained that quotes may be used but are to be confirmed with the participant, who would be given a section of the thesis so that they can see the quote in context.

- To thank participants for their time, some catering was provided during their interviews.
- Collected data was stored in compliance with the Data Protection Act. Additionally, participants were allocated a pseudonym and their identities were stored separately from the data. All data was stored in encrypted and password protected files to ensure privacy in unforeseen circumstances. Hardcopies were kept in locked drawers.

Chapter 6 Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, a new conceptual framework for the study is constructed, based on policy implementation theory, communication theory, literature from the sport and disability field and the collected data. Creating a conceptual framework is useful when learning about a new field because it helps to find your way and locate yourself within an extensive field of study (Childs 2010). It is also considered to be a helpful aid to understanding something we cannot see or experience directly particularly when it in the form of an abstract representation (Conole et al. 2005: 8). This implies the creation of a visual representation of the ideas and concepts relevant to this research (Wenger 1998). Thus, creating a conceptual framework is an important step towards describing and explaining a domain as it is, a first step to the understanding of the hierarchy of principles and how concepts are linked to one another (Childs 2010). As such, this chapter does not only develop a new conceptual framework but will also develop a visual representation of the conceptual framework. The developed conceptual framework and its corresponding visual representation will then be used as a tool for the interpretation and structuring of the findings. Furthermore, a framework should be seen as a snapshot of a developing work and a means of communicating the various elements of analysis, rather than an attempt to incorporate the whole related field. It provides a basis on which further work can build on.

The conceptual framework is closely linked to the objectives of research. One of the original aims of this research project is the study of mainstreaming policy within the sports sector. More specifically, it examines the policy process and gaps that might exist within it. From the data collected, it seems that the biggest challenge exists at the level of policy implementation, which is an integral element of the policy process. This is often considered as a major stumbling block in the policy process (Lester and Goggin 1998: 1). Moreover, one that is often overlooked in literature related to sports policy in general (O'Gorman 2011).

Where implementation theory has been applied to sports policy, it was done so in regards to sports participation policy (May et al. 2013), to policy for women (Kay 1996) and implicitly in the school sports context (Flintoff 2003, Houlihan 2000b). However, to the knowledge of the researcher, this has not been applied to sport for PWD in the mainstream sports sector. Taking the above into consideration, this research project requires a conceptual framework that addresses the policy implementation process in the specific case of disability in the mainstream sports sector. This will help with starting to understand why inclusion policy in the sports sector

is underperforming. Important for this model is that it should be capable of analysing highly relevant variables and their interrelationships. More importantly, it should reflect the reality of a top-down policy process, whilst considering the attitudes and perspectives of the grassroots implementers and the target audience.

As existing frameworks (see the model proposed by Nixon [1980: 130] and the model proposed by Van Meter and Van Horn [1975: 463]) were considered to be outdated and unfit for the analysis of this research (see discussion on these models at the end of this chapter), a new framework was constructed to aid in the analysis. This framework was developed through the aggregation of the existing literature and informed by the collected data. For example, the work of O'Toole (1986), who provides a review of the policy implementation field, was used as a starting point for the development of the new conceptual framework. This review includes more than 100 studies and provides an overview of the key variables that have been argued to influence policy implementation. However, the work of O'Toole refers to over 300 potential variables, which makes the policy implementation research a complex and saturated field of study. As such, to build a conceptual framework it is important to include those variables that could help explain the policy under investigation. For this, Johansson (2010: 122) suggests an in-depth analysis of the policy nature and of the implementation context, which for this study is largely done in the literature review and continued in this chapter. Additionally, the decision about which variables to include within the conceptual framework was informed by the survey and interviews conducted for this study. For example, the addition of the target audience[37] in the conceptual framework was heavily influenced by the interviews which showed a disparity between policy objectives and the expectations of the target audience. What follows is a discussion of the variables included in the conceptual framework in terms of their importance in relation to the analysis of mainstreaming policy in the UK sport sector.

6.1. Policy

A natural starting point in the analysis of any top-down policy is the policy itself (see Chapter 3). The policy formulates goals and objectives envisaged. Reviewing the literature highlights three important, interlinked features of policy, (1) the awareness and knowledge of policy, (2) the amount of change that is required by the policy (Lipsky 1983, Matland 1995, O'Toole 1986) and

[37] The target audience is often neglected and absent from implementation literature (see Skille and Stenling 2017)

(3) degree of conflict or consensus over its goals and objectives (Bullock 1980, Johansson 2010, Matland 1995, O'Toole 1986).

A perquisite of implementing policy is being aware of its existence in the first place as implementers who unaware of policy cannot implement it. Furthermore, implementers need, to some extent, understand the policy to be able to implements its goals and objectives. This is troublesome in the sport sector as previous research has indicated that voluntary sport clubs (VSCs) have poor awareness of sports policy (Harris et al. 2009, May et al. 2013). Moreover, those who are aware of policy often did not fully understand it or had an understanding that was largely outdated (Harris et al. 2009, May et al. 2013). As such it is important to canvass the extent of understanding of policy.

As Lipsky (1983) explains, policies bringing incremental changes are more likely to be resisted or adapted. This is especially true when the changes are not aligned with the priorities of the implementers. Change is characterised by two interrelated aspects, change compared to past experience and change compared to prevailing values and norms (Nixon 1980). As such, change can influences the degree of conflict. For conflict to be possible, there is the need for interdependence of actors (Dahrendorf 1958). This is true for the sports sector, as it is characterised by neo-pluralism, which emphasises the role individual actors play in the policy process (see literature review Section 4.3). It is suggested that that effective implementation depends on the level of consensus amongst implementing agents while conflict has a negative effect (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975).Moreover, the degree of conflict or consensus is related to the values of key individuals which often explain the organisational values (Milward et al. 1983). This perspective emphasises the need to not only analyse the institution and their goals, but also the goals of individuals in key positions of the institutions. Individuals responsible for carrying out policy do not only act from their position within an organisation, but also from their professional and personal motivations (Sabatier and Mazmanian 1979). These values are further discussed in the next section.

6.2. Desirability

To describe the influence of values on the policy process, this thesis introduces the term *desirability* which encompasses the belief system of individuals or organisations and expresses itself through feelings, motivation and attitudes. In essence, desirability encompasses the positive, negative or neutral feelings towards a policy. Considering that the process of disablement is a deeply rooted issue in society, the concept of ableism (see Section 2.3) is

introduced. Ableism in this model acts as a lens to conceptualise potential resistance against inclusive policy in the sports sector. This can help explain the lack of congruence of values between inclusive policies and the grassroots implementer. As such, this model will incorporate the concept of ableism in desirability.

While policy objectives might be clearly stated or simply inferred, it is up to the implementer to interpret these objectives. Interpretation then depends on which objectives are identified by those who are to implement the policy (Nixon 1980). Thus, the concept of desirability is useful in helping to understand why policy is interpreted in certain ways as it explores the reasons behind these interpretations of policy.

6.3. General environment

Policy is not formulated in a vacuum but rather in an environment shaped by political ideologies, historical events and the organisational structure of the policy system. For this research, these are elements that have an impact on mainstreaming policy. These factors are considered to be difficult to manipulate and exist outside of the policy itself. In relation to mainstreaming policy, this section focuses on two environmental factors in particular, (1) organisational structure, and (2) political environment and the historical context. These factors provide the context in which policy and the filtering variables, later discussed, operate.

6.3.1. Organisational structure

A good starting point for the environment are the unique characteristics of the sports policy system in the UK. Various aspects have been discussed in more detail in Section 4.2. Important for the conceptual framework is that the sports policy system in the UK is highly fragmented[38] (Green 2004, Roche 1993), while decisions are made at a central level (Houlihan and Green 2009, Kay 1996). This can be problematic for policy implementation as the greater the number and variety of actors and organisations involved, the more difficult it is for policy to be understandable and for it to reach specified intended outcomes (O'Gorman 2011). The UK sports landscape is in strong contrast to Germany, which features larger multi-sport clubs. These larger organisational entities are considered to better cope with policy implementation (Harris et al. 2009) because it reduces the number of actors in the policy process while club size is also linked

[38] The UK sports system has more small, single-sport clubs than any other country in Europe, except for France (Harris et al. 2009)

to the level of formalisation (May et al. 2013, Nichols et al. 2012). Fewer actors and higher forms of formalisation are both positively linked to policy performance.

Moreover, the highly fragmented UK system sees competing interests of grassroots actors (Green and Oakley 2001, Houlihan 2000b, 2005a), while relying heavily on partnerships (Kay 1996). These grassroots actors mainly exist out of voluntary sports clubs (VSCs)[39]. This is important, as a key feature of the VSC sector is its diversity and independence (Harris et al. 2009). VSCs range from mutual enthusiasts running a club to the more formalised, professional clubs, each with their own values and goals shaped by their volunteers, which may or may not be competing with the policy. The reliance on volunteers has important implications for this study and might be linked to the possibility of conflict between policy and implementer. As such, it is imperative to include organisational structure as part of the conceptual framework.

6.3.2. Political environment and historical context

The influence of the political and historical context has been extensively discussed in the literature review (see Chapters 2 and 3). The historical background and, in extension, the historical events which characterise this background, provide context to the policy being analysed. This is linked to the amount of change policy brings as previous policy could have paved the way or in contrary has failed, demanding radical change. The historical and political context is also linked to conflict. Different levels of government might be led by opposing political parties, each with their own view on the policy. Furthermore, policymakers of the same political party might be unable to reach consensus (Van Horn 1978). This is further complicated by cross-departmental interest in sports policy, each with their own goals for sport. This has resulted in the view of sport as a tool to achieve a wide variety of domestic and international goals (Houlihan and Green 2009). These interests include social and health benefits and have been referred to as “sport for good” (Collins 2010, Parayre 2007). This in contrast to “sport for sport's sake” that is highly valued by VSCs and NGBs (Carr and Kemmis 1986). Moreover, sports policy is plagued by short-term policy planning (Grix and Phillpots 2011). For example, switching policy expectations and objectives from mass participation to sport for sport's sake to cater for the needs of elite sport (Phillpots et al. 2010). This short-termism is often related to changes in government and the organisation of mega-events, such as London 2012. Moreover, these policy

[39] While commercial sport clubs exist (mainly fitness centres), these are not considered in this research.

changes happen over relatively short periods of time, associated with the four-year funding cycle which corresponds with an Olympic cycle (Grix and Phillpots 2011).

The specific historical and political context of sport plays an important part. The high emphasis of devolution led to a noticeable shift from a strong, hierarchical government, to governance through networks and partnerships (Rhodes 1990, Skelcher 2000). This shift in governmental structure has caused power erosion and weakened the state's ability to deliver policy (Bevir and Rhodes 2008, 2006, Skelcher 2000). This lack of authority has shown to be problematic in sport (Collins 2010, Harris et al. 2009, Taylor et al. 2003). Moreover, this shift enabled the creation of arm's length agencies that contribute to the creation of a myriad of multi-agency policy deliverers. These are often confusing and overlapping organisations, bodies and councils involved in policy delivery (Phillpots et al. 2010). This context adds to the fragmentation and complexity of the sports structure in the UK.

In addition, the historical context includes important events that have shown to significantly influence policy and society. While discussed more fully in Chapters 2 and 3, it is worth restating here the influence a move away from the medical model towards a social model of disability had and still has on policy (see the abovementioned chapters for more examples of historical events with significant influence on sports policy). This shows the importance of taking into consideration historic events when analysing the environment of policy.

6.4. Affordability

The availability of resources is often linked to successful implementation (Davies and Mason 1982, O'Toole 1986, O'Toole and Montjoy 1984). However, literature also suggests that implementing agents often lack financial resources to successfully implement policy (Lipsky 1983, Pressman and Wildavsky 1984). As such, there seems to be a disconnect between the resources available and the required resources for successful implementation. A study by O'Toole and Montjoy (1984) indicates that inter-organisational implementation requires "costly" coordination which increases the more fragmented the landscape is.

The resources may include incentives or funding that might encourage effective implementation (Levine 1972, Schultze 1970). Garrett (2004) found that conditions of funding do not guarantee that a club will conform. So, while it is argued that funding can be used to reinforce and encourage the adoption of policy values and instil an obligation to pursue the outcomes defined by policy, this does not guarantee compliance. This is especially true where the norms and values of the sports policy are inconsistent and/or incompatible with the norms and values associated

with the club. What is often missing in the discussion of resources, is the impact policy has on the implementer. As argued, financial incentives might only play a partial role in policy compliance. In addition, financial resources are often lacking and sparse which leaves the grassroots implementers to fend for themselves. Furthermore, the financial position of the target audience is often neglected as well, who may not have the resources to engage with policy.

6.5. Feasibility

Feasibility refers to the skills and knowledge, for this thesis termed competence, and size of human resources of organisations. This has been identified as having a significant influence on policy implementation (Gross et al. 1971, Van Meter and Van Horn 1975, Murphy 1991, O'Toole 1986). Human resources are fundamental components of administrative capacity and an implementation deficit is linked to a lack of these human resources (Elezi 2013). Human capital consists of the informal attributes of the personnel of organisations (Ripley et al. 1974). These attributes include for example issues such as an understanding of what works, which activities in which conditions will contribute to policy and technological know-how (Coalter 2007).

Human capital is an area in which the sports sector is under pressure (Donaldson et al. 2011, Nichols et al. 2005, Taylor et al. 2003). The sports sector is characterised by increasing professionalisation as a result of government expectations and pressure, while relying heavily on volunteers (May et al. 2013, Nichols et al. 2005). This greater extent of professionalisation of voluntary sports organisations comes with increased bureaucratization (Kikulis et al. 1989). This implies requiring more volunteer time, more work and in many cases more pressure. For some sport clubs, this results in a lack of experience and capacity. Furthermore, this creates tensions between objectives of state policy and the objectives of the club, as organisations lack the capacity and ability to deliver both (Harris et al. 2009).

In addition, pressure from legislation and policy requirements create demand for the right expertise and qualifications of staff (Taylor et al. 2003). This involves extensive training and development of staff, yet many opportunities for professionalisation and volunteer development cost money. Moreover, the cost for coach development has significantly increased over time. This led to a situation where some coaches do not bother with further development beyond the minimum requirements for certification (Harris et al. 2009).

6.6. Communicability

While previous sections lightly touched upon communicability relating to understanding and knowledge of policy, this section will elaborate on the important aspect of communication in multi-organisational implementation. Communication within and between organisations is a complex and difficult process. To facilitate understanding of communication this section will introduce a basic communication model.

Considering that communication in the sport sector involves multiple layers of actors and organisations, the whole process of communication becomes more complicated. Multiple layers mean that interpretation of policy and the formulation of a response to policy happens both at the central level and the local level simultaneously (Nixon 1980). Moreover, inter-organisational communication involves the information being passed further down the line. In addition, noise can occur at each level of communication, further distorting the message see Figure 7, below. This happens both intentionally and unintentionally (Downs 1964). Osgood (1954) considered the notion of interpretation to be a component of noise. This notion of interpretation is important as, ultimately, it is less important that a message is reproduced to the letter than that the meaning of the message is conveyed (Bowman and Targowski 1987). As a result, the interpretation may well differ between various levels because different actors are involved, which may result in a different type of response being made. This concept of semantics is explored in more depth elsewhere (see Ariel and Avidar 2015, Bowman and Targowski 1987). However, the implications for this study are that the experiences, values and goals (desirability) of the people involved in communication have important implications on how a message is perceived by the receiver.

Figure 7 The Shannon-Weaver Model Revisited (Burcher 2012: 18)

To better understand this distortion as a result of the desirability of actors, it is worth introducing the *directive-distortion* problem (Downs 1964). The directive-distortion problem describes what happens during the process of transmitting information downwards in a hierarchy of actors (see Figure 7, page 103). Policy (the message) is formulated at the highest level. Since they do not have the information to work out all the details for the actions of all lower level organisations, nor the time to do so, policy is formulated in general terms and passed down in this form. Organisations then receive this generally formulated policy and are expected to make it more specific and detailed (Barnard 1968). This requires a certain amount of discretion, which combined with certain levels of independence causes distortion (Downs 1964). Considering the neo-pluralist reality of the sport sector, it is important to emphasise the role that individuals play in transmitting and giving meaning to the information being communicated (Ariel and Avidar 2015). Actors at each level choose a particular method of carrying out this policy. These actors do so with their personal values and objectives in mind. The result is that policy becomes transformed so as to produce more behaviour that reflects the goals of all levels it passes through (Downs 1964, Yanow 1993). Moreover, distortion is cumulative down the hierarchy increasing the problem with each level added.

A related issue to the directive-distortion problem is that of conflicting communication (Van Horn and Van Meter 1977). Different sources within an organisation are not always uniform in interpreting and articulating policy. Additionally, the same actor or source might over time give different explanations of the same policy. This will dilute the impact of the policy (Van Horn and Van Meter 1977). Moreover, when policy tends to change often over time, such as is the trend for the sports sector, confusion over policy will further increase.

6.7. Target audience

A review of the available implementation literature conducted by Skille and Stenling (2017) revealed that conceptually and empirically it stops at the end implementer, i.e. the sport club. Most studies assess if the implementer has done what is expected by the policy maker (top-down) or if grassroots implementers have solved an organisational problem from their expertise (bottom-up). However, the target audience is often neglected in the study of implementation. What these studies lack is the feedback and understanding of the target audience of policy. In the end, policy is not made for implementers to implement, but for the target audience to experience. Take for example the recent policy of increasing the sports participation of the population. Perhaps implementers are doing their best to increase participation in their local club. However, their actions might not have the expected effect and see no increase in

participation. In this case, the question is not only whether they implemented the vision of the government correctly, but also why the target audience did not engage with the policy and increased their participation. As such it seems important to explore the perceptions and experiences of the target audience in regard to a certain policy. This will allow a better understanding of the policy under analysis. Moreover, it could provide feedback to implementers on their methods of implementation, as the way they implement policy might not correspond with the expectations of their target audience. Therefore, the target audience is added to the conceptual framework as the last variable to reflect its last stage in the policy process.

The above discussion has resulted in the conceptual framework shown as a diagram in Figure 8, page 106. While some of the linkages have become apparent in the previous discussions, the next section will look at these in more depth.

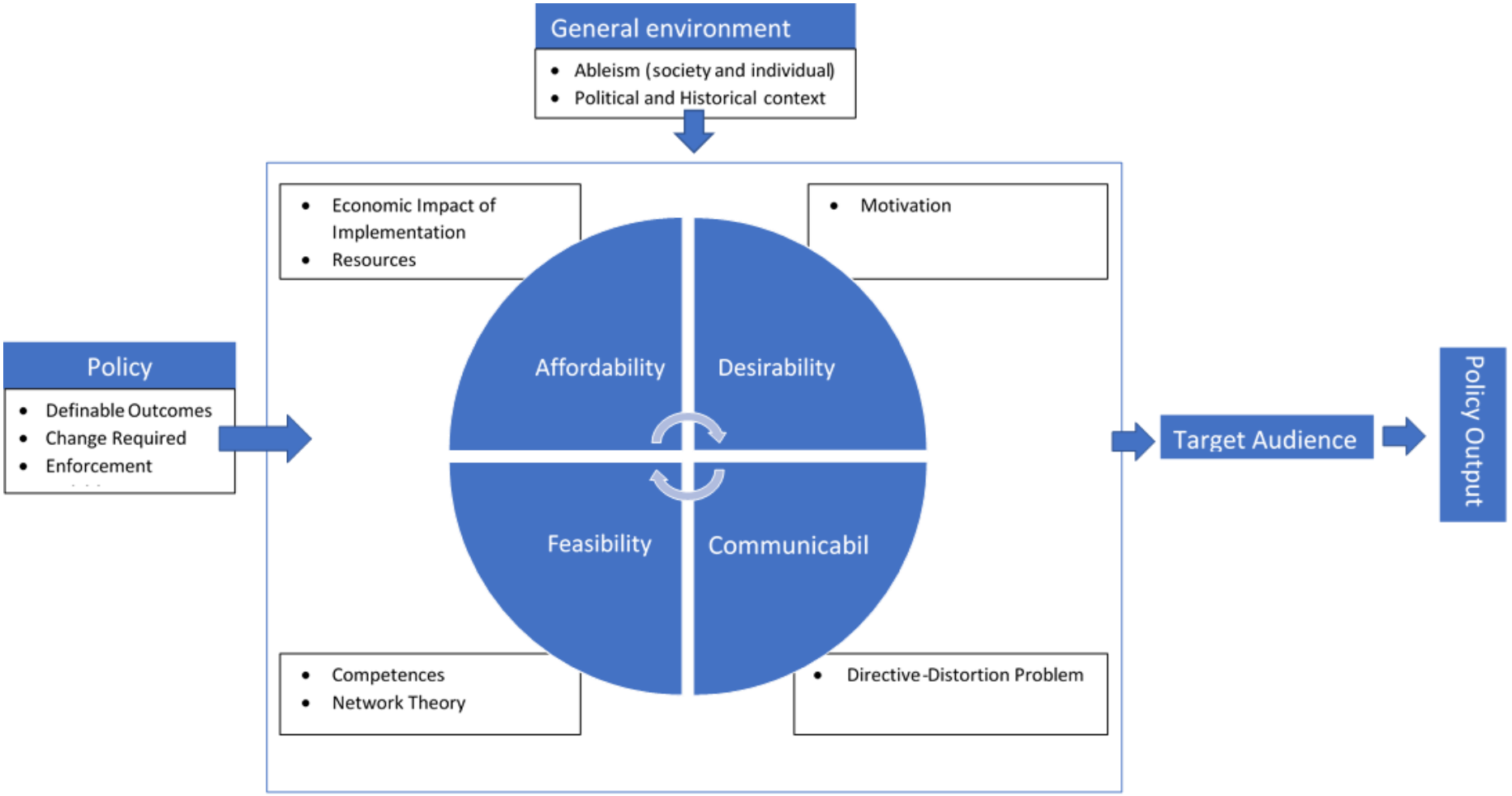


Figure 8 A Conceptual Framework of Policy Implementation

6.8. Linkages between components of the model

When looking at the conceptual framework both policy and the general environment are found on the outside. These two elements provide context and are considered to be relatively stable for the course of this study. On the inside of the framework there are four variable elements, influenced by the context, which have an impact on policy output. Moreover, these four elements, affordability; desirability; communicability and feasibility, impact each other reciprocally. The outcome of this influences the target audience, which result in the policy output. With this in mind, I turn to describing and justifying some theorised relationships (see Figure 8, page 106).

The objectives of policy have an indirect effect on the policy outcome. What influence this component has on the policy outcome is mediated by other elements of the framework. The policy objectives and outcomes are influenced by the political and historical context. Depending on the political climate and the ruling political party, goals will be formulated in specific ways to accommodate to these political views. In addition, the historical context has a clear impact on the formulation of policy (see Chapter 3).

As discussed earlier, desirability influences communicability and vice-versa while both influence policy output to some extent. Implementers' response to policy will be based, in part, on their perceptions and the interpretation of its objectives. In this context, ableism plays a big role as it is embedded within the values and perceptions of the implementers through which interpretation of objectives takes place. For example, the prioritisation of nondisabled sport would negatively impact any inclusive policy in the sport sector. Additionally, because of a clash in values and objectives, implementers may intentionally or unintentionally block out communication about the policy. On the other hand, the way objectives are communicated will influence understanding of policy. However, it must be noted that clear communication by itself does not necessarily result in a positive desirability or positive policy outcome. Furthermore, communication shows clear links to affordability and feasibility. A lack of knowledge of funding opportunities, training opportunities or where to turn to for support can have a negative impact on policy performance.

Desirability is also linked to affordability in that policies which that have a low economic impact are less likely to create conflict than policies which require a big economic gesture from the implementer. On the other hand, implementers who are motivated to implement policy, thus show a positive desirability, are more likely to be proactive in securing funds and looking for

extra funding opportunities. Affordability is in turn linked to both feasibility and communicability. Skill and knowledge acquisition is often expensive putting more pressure on the available resources. Moreover, a lack of resources or the right skills and knowledge within the implementing organisation has a negative impact on realising policy goals. Feasibility is in this regard linked to desirability. Implementers may not see the necessity of bringing the right skills and knowledge into the organisation or lack in motivating staff to acquire the necessary skills.

Lastly, the approach and method of analysis proposed here in the conceptual framework resembles the model proposed by Nixon (1980: 130) (see Figure 9, below) and the model proposed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 463) (see Figure 10, page, 109). Nixon (1980) distinguishes four linear elements of the policy process; Type of policy, Method of communication; Interpretation and Response. While this model has some valuable input, it does only account for three variables, degree of change, method of communication and interpretation, without acknowledging other influence. Moreover, the linear process of the model does not allow for interrelations between variables. In essence, this model overemphasises aspects of the communication process while not accounting for other variables in the policy implementation process.

Figure 9 Nixon's Model of the Policy Implementation Process (Nixon 1980: 130)

Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) advocate the study of six variable clusters – policy standards and objectives, policy resources, communication and enforcement, characteristics of the implementing agencies, disposition of implementers and economic, social, and political Conditions – which influence policy implementation. While they can be partially matched with the seven variables cited here – policy, general environment, desirability, communicability, feasibility, affordability and target audience – there are significant differences. First, disposition

of the implementers is seen as the last filter before policy is implemented. In contrast, desirability cited here is part of four reciprocal variables. Secondly, the component comprising the environmental conditions have a different emphasis, e.g. the environment, as used for this research, emphasises the historical context. A third significant difference is found in the disposition of implementers compared to the concept of desirability. Desirability is linked to the concept of ableism, which has proven significant in the study of disability.

Figure 10 Van Meter's and Van Horn's Model of Policy Implementation (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975: 463)

In conclusion, both the model of Van Meter and Van Horn and the model of Nixon, differ in approach and emphasis of variables. Both models do not deal adequately with the inter-relationships of the variables. Moreover, both models display a different emphasis from the framework proposed here. The emphasis and inter-relationship of variables proposed in the conceptual framework are particularly chosen to address the policy of mainstreaming in the UK sports landscape.

6.9. Application of the conceptual framework

This research has identified three different themes in relation to mainstreaming. These themes are mainstreaming sport provision, finding inclusive opportunities and, training and coaching. Each theme touches on most, if not all, aspects of the conceptual framework. What follows is a roadmap which provides an overview of where the various aspects of the conceptual framework are applied in the results and discussion chapter.

Chapter 7 Mainstreaming Sport Provision, mainly draws on the concept of desirability and, particularly, utilises ableism as a lens to examine perceptions that key actors and PWD have of mainstreaming. Section 7.1 draws on desirability to provide a better understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming. This is followed by a discussion on the possible extent of mainstreaming in Section 7.2. This section draws on the concepts of desirability and feasibility to better understand some of the limitations that mainstreaming faces and to explain the preference of some PWD to not participate in either the mainstream or disability sport sector. Section 7.3 links mainstreaming to amateur and high-performance sport competition. This section draws on desirability, including ableism, to examine perceptions towards mainstreaming in competitive sport. Additionally, through the concepts of desirability and feasibility, support for PWD to be competitive is examined. In this sense, desirability refers to the support of individuals and their motivations for supporting PWD while feasibility refers to organisational and structural support that enables PWD to be competitive.

Chapter 8 Finding Inclusive Sporting Opportunities, explores the difficulty of PWD in finding sporting opportunities, specifically, in the mainstream sport sector. This chapter draws on the concepts of desirability, communicability, the general environment and, to a lesser yet meaningful extent, feasibility and affordability. Section 8.1 focusses on the perception of mainstream sport clubs not being an option for PWD utilising a historical lens, which is part of the general environment, to provide a better understanding of the negative perceptions of mainstream sport clubs. This historical lens is enhanced with the concept of ableism to provide a fuller explanation of how the abovementioned perceptions are influenced. Building on this, Section 8.2 investigates how digital communication reinforces negative perceptions rather than mitigating them. This section makes use of the concepts of communicability and desirability to help explain how and why digital communication reinforces negative perceptions and the concepts of feasibility and affordability to help explain the difficulties of mainstream sport organisations in adopting a more inclusive approach to their digital communication. Section 8.3 takes a more in-depth look at one particular digital communication tool aimed at helping PWD

in finding inclusive sporting opportunities, the sport club database. Here, the concept of communicability provides a lens to understand the lack of awareness of such tools while the concepts of desirability, feasibility and affordability help explain some of the limitations of existing sport club databases.

Chapter 9 Training and Coaching of and by PWD, focusses on the interaction between coaches and PWD and coach education. Section 9.1 explores the interactions between coaches and PWD through the lenses of desirability and feasibility, and highlights how a lack of competence can negatively influence the desirability of both coaches and PWD. Having identified issues with feasibility, Section 9.2 applies the concepts of desirability and communicability to help explain the disability related competence gap of coaches. Section 9.3 explores, in a similar fashion to Section 7.3, the organisational and individual support for PWD to become coaches themselves. Lastly, section 9.4 explores some coach related challenges faced within the mainstream sport sector. Here, the influence of an insufficient availability of coaches is explored through the lens of feasibility while the issue of coaches charging PWD is explored through the lens of affordability.

As such, the various aspects of the framework are discussed where appropriate within each chapter. **Chapter 10 Discussion,** will then bring together all the elements of the conceptual framework. This provides an overview of the key characteristics, their interrelationship and influence on the implementation of mainstreaming policy.

Chapter 7 Mainstreaming Sport Provision

Mainstreaming policy in the sports landscape, which considers the creation of inclusive opportunities, i.e. the participation of PWD in a nondisabled context, aims to increase sport participation of PWD and has been a key policy area in the UK since the medical model of disability and the idea of PWD being too disabled to live in the mainstream was abandoned in the 1980s (Roulstone and Prideaux 2012). However, the literature review supported by the survey conducted at the start of this research indicate a gap between the intent of government policy and the situation on the field, the principle-practice gap. Moreover, this gap is found to be most profound at the level of the mainstream sport club, as the survey conducted at the beginning of this research indicate that less than two percent of mainstream membership is someone with a disability. While some authors have attempted to address the principle-practice gap and its barriers in the sports sector (for example, Garrett 2004, Kay 1996, May et al. 2013, O'Gorman 2011, Skille and Stenling 2017), only few have examined this in the context of sport for PWD (Thomas and Guett 2014). This chapter attempts to address the existing gap in the literature by addressing the research question, what explains the principle-practice gap, by exploring the perceptions that key actors in the sports landscape have of mainstreaming policy and its potential impact on sports participation. Moreover, unique to this study, is the inclusion of the target audience in discussing barriers to policy implementation, which in this specific research are PWD. In a way, the next three result chapter can be understood as a journey of PWD looking for sporting opportunities. This chapter starts off that journey by looking at the conceptualisation of mainstreaming and the experiences of PWD which influences whether they are open to participating in the mainstream or have preference for disability sport clubs.

One of the key issues emerging from the interviews impacting the principle-practice gap is a disparity in the understanding of what the term mainstreaming means in a practical sense and what the outcome of mainstreaming policy should be. As such, an important first step is to analyse mainstreaming policy and how it is understood by actors in the sports landscape. The conceptual framework provides a lens to analyse this disparity by looking at the desirability and communicability of actors in the sports landscape. This lens provides insights as to the reasons behind the disparity, focussing on motivation and ableism in particular. As such, this chapter will first discuss the practical understanding of mainstreaming by respondents at different level of the policy process. This will result in a better understanding of the motivations of actors in the sports landscape and their perception of mainstreaming policy. The discussion will highlight the

perseverance of ableism in the sports landscape and its negative influence on mainstreaming policy. As such, ableism will be a major focus point throughout the analysis.

The chapter then continues with discussing the potential policy output in terms of the dilemma of how far mainstreaming policy should go. The dilemma is whether mainstream sport should become so inclusive that disability-specific sport becomes obsolete and as such reshape the sports landscape. This dilemma is approached by discussing the perceptions of actors in the sport landscape and by exploring the experiences of PWD. Data emerging from the interviews distinguishes three themes that play a significant role when considering how far mainstreaming policy can go. These themes are: participation with other PWD; disabling attitudes; and limitations of mainstream sport clubs.

In addition to discussing the impact and limitations of mainstreaming policy on the grassroots sport club, the impact on competitive sport is discussed. This section discusses the potential barriers to mainstreaming policy that emerge from competitive sport. Interviews indicate that core elements of competitive sport, such as classification of disability and the example of important sport events, can be a barrier to mainstreaming efforts at a grassroots level.

Lastly, data emerging from the interviews indicate a lack of awareness necessary for successful implementation of mainstreaming policy. This section of the chapter discusses the impact of the historical context in which sport has developed itself over the years and how this historical context now provides a barrier to mainstreaming policy. This context is found to have a significant impact on the perceived image that people have of mainstream sport clubs. Additionally, this discussion highlights the impact of society in shaping people's perception of what disability looks like and the disabling impact these perceptions can have.

7.1. Concept of mainstreaming

A first step in addressing the principle-practice gap concerning mainstreaming is to understand what mainstreaming means for respondents. This is particularly important as, data from the interviews showed that respondents have different understandings of mainstreaming or no understanding at all. As such, the analysis of the concept of mainstreaming is an important starting point, especially as in the relevant literature it is argued that there is a need for a clear and concise definition of the term (Collins 1997, Thomas 2004). To the knowledge of the author, no literature published to date has effectively filled this gap. The next sections explores these perceptions of mainstreaming and discuss whether these findings fit with previous results from Harris et al. (2009) and May et al. (2013) who argue that the majority of grassroots sport clubs

have poor awareness of sport policy and their objectives and those who are aware hold an outdated view of them.

7.1.1. Three understandings of mainstreaming

The conceptual framework provides a useful lens to analyse the understanding of mainstreaming amongst key actors in the sports landscape. It emphasises that the first step in understanding policy is to be aware of policy. Secondly, the conceptual framework links the understanding of policy to the motivations of the actors involved. Motivation takes into account the objectives and values of actors which play an important role in the interpretation and translation of policy (Lipsky 1983). As a result of motivation, actors can develop different understandings of policy which are shaped by their personal values and objectives. In addition to motivation influencing the understanding of policy, the interpretation of policy can in return influence motivation. In essence, the more the perception of policy objectives diverge from personal or organisational values and objectives, the more resistance might occur, negatively impacting policy implementation and as such, the principle-practice gap. Therefore, this part of the analysis focusses on the way actors understand mainstreaming in the sports landscape. The understanding of mainstreaming is then linked to the desirability of organisations interviewed.

Looking at the sports landscape, Sport England in specific fulfils an important role. Sport England, an arm's length body of the government, has the lead responsibility for creating sports policy. However, with matters concerning sport provision for PWD, such as mainstreaming policy, the EFDS fulfils an influential role, informing and supporting Sport England. Additionally, both the EFDS and Sport England play an important role in the communication process as they disseminate policy throughout the sports landscape. As such, effective communication should result in actors holding a similar understanding of mainstreaming as Sport England and the EFDS.

One level down and a direct recipient of policy created by Sport England are the NGBs who translate mainstreaming policy for their specific sport and members, the grassroots sport clubs. They communicate their vision and translation of policy through the publication of a strategic document. However, there is a tendency of NGBs to talk about inclusion in the broadest sense possible. While current strategies of both the ASA and England Athletics mention inclusion (England Athletics 2017, Swim England 2017), this relates to all underperforming groups. For instance, the current strategy of England Athletics reads:

> "Inclusivity is an important aspect of athletics and running and must be embraced at all levels of the sport … whatever the age, ability or background of the athlete or volunteer." (England Athletics 2017: 12)

As such, this section attempts to grasp how the different levels of actors in the sport landscape understand mainstreaming policy. Moreover, if provides insight on how a broadly formulated strategy applies to PWD in specific. Analysis of the interviews highlighted that understanding of mainstreaming can be grouped into three distinct categories: inclusion; choice; and ability. It must be noted that these are not mutually exclusive attributes of mainstreaming and more than one view can occur at the same time.

Mainstreaming: Inclusion

The first understanding of mainstreaming to emerge from the interviews is inclusion. This understanding of mainstreaming is characterised by the integration of PWD within a nondisabled environment. The emphasis of inclusion is on creating an offer for PWD to participate in sport in a mainstream sport club. There are two ways that this can occur. The most straightforward way is through the participation of PWD alongside nondisabled people in the same activity. Alternatively, it can be achieved through the participation of PWD in the same mainstream club but in separate sessions. Both ways assure the inclusion of PWD in a mainstream environment and allow for closer social interaction between PWD and the nondisabled. It moves beyond the idea that PWD belong in a "special" club, which segregated provision reinforces (Ammons and Eickman 2012). Furthermore, disability specific sport clubs are often scares and far away which can result in barriers to sports participation (Martin 2013). Additionally, it is assumed that some PWD might find that disability specific sessions in a mainstream context can lower the barrier to inclusive participation.

Understanding mainstreaming as inclusion can occur at different levels of sophistication. Inclusion formulated by both Sport England and the EFDS focus on the outcome of mainstreaming policy. Athena from Sport England explained what mainstreaming means to her organisation:

> "when we talk about mainstreaming that generally means where disabled people [sic] are going to take part in sport in a mainstream environment, in a nondisabled environment" (Athena, Sport England)

This view details mainstreaming policy further and shows the perspective of the policymaker, Sport England. The EFDS, which is a strategic partner of Sport England and brings disability specific expertise to this partnership shows a similar understanding which is, giving its role, to

be expected. Demeter from the EFDS explained that their role is to make the sports landscape more inclusive. She explains that the inclusion of PWD in a nondisabled environment is an important aspect of mainstreaming. More specifically, she explained that the EFDS aims to make CSPs, NGBs, grassroots sport clubs and sporting events inclusive for everyone. As such, the EFDS plays a supportive role in Sport England's mainstreaming strategy.

This view of Sport England and the EFDs are influenced by broader government policies on inclusion which are shaped by the social model of disability. Arguably the most influential piece of legislation to impact mainstreaming policy is the Equality Act 2010 which is based on the social model and its objective of barrier removal (Goodley 2014), and enforces "reasonable adjustment" (Lockwood et al. 2012). As a consequence of the EQA 2010, grassroots sport clubs are legally required to make reasonable adjustments which should result in them being able to provide services to PWD. Thus, it comes as no surprise that throughout the interviews representatives of sport clubs expressed a most basic understanding of mainstreaming in the form of barrier removal.

Both Bard, an athletic club chair, and Caitlyn, a development manager and coach of a swim club, expressed and understanding of mainstreaming as barrier removal. Caitlyn said that mainstreaming is about making sure there are "no barriers to disabled swimmers coming in (to the mainstream club)". Bard expressed a similar understanding of mainstreaming. He explained that mainstreaming is about "making it (the mainstream club) easily accessible for any disabled to become involved… for clubs to make it more accessible for disabled people [sic] to utilise them". The survey conducted at the beginning of this research shows the progress made towards barrier removal with 87% of sport clubs self-reporting as being accessible. It must be noted that these figures are unlikely to give the full picture because the needs of PWD will vary by their specific disabilities and the specific sport in question. Moreover, it is important to emphasise the self-reporting nature of the survey as data emerging from the interviews show a lack of understanding in accessibility which is further discussed in a later section on the lack of awareness and in the next chapter on digital communication. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the understanding of mainstreaming in terms of barrier removal follows the social model of disability and strives to be in line with the EQA 2010.

Going a step further than barrier removal is an understanding of inclusion in a broader sense. The idea of barrier removal is founded on a materialist basis of the social model of disability (Owens 2014) while data emerging from the interviews show that representatives of both the

ASA and England Athletics have adopted a broader understanding of inclusion. Their understanding of mainstreaming policy is aligned with the mainstreaming strategy of Sport England. For Example, Apollo from the ASA described the importance of inclusion at the grassroots sport club level. He emphasised the need to develop swim programmes in an inclusive matter and stated that the ASA is taking steps to make their "learn to swim" programmes, organised by grassroots clubs, more inclusive. As such, it indeed appears that NGBs have adopted a broader understanding of mainstreaming that exceeds the idea of barrier removal. Moreover, it seems that by leveraging NGBs to adopt mainstreaming policy, Sport England can achieve a more inclusive approach by some grassroots sport clubs.

In addition to inclusion at the grassroots sport club level, both representatives of the athletics and swimming NGBs highlighted the importance of inclusion at the competitive level. This is related to the desirability of NGBs whose mission and objectives are to facility competition. It shows the desire of NGBs to not only focus on inclusion at the grassroots sport club level but to extend mainstreaming to competitive sport. Artemis from England Athletics stated that mainstreaming is about "having the same experience as a nondisabled person". To create the same experience, it is important to make it not only normal for PWD to participate alongside nondisabled peers in the same clubs but also in the same competition. Apollo from the ASA suggested that to move forward with mainstreaming it is important to "create more un-classified events" in which both athletes with disabilities and nondisabled athletes can take part alongside each other in the same event.

A more sophisticated understanding to emerge from the interviews is an understanding of mainstreaming as a way to build mutual identity. Such understanding moves beyond the social model of disability and its focus on barrier removal. Furthermore, it builds on existing mainstreaming policy while further developing what inclusion means in the sports landscape. This understanding was most profound with Artemis from England Athletics who explained that mainstreaming is as a way for "people to identify with the sport rather than their impairment". Thus, mainstreaming is perceived as a strategy to create a mutual identity based on the sport or discipline that they are part of rather than having segregation between PWD and nondisabled people. For example, being a "sprinter" or a "freestyle competitor" rather than having a focus on segregation based on ability. This perspective embraces that people want to be with others who do the same sport or event and builds on inclusion which emphasises the mutual participation of PWD and the nondisabled.

This understanding of mainstreaming as way to build mutual identity shows motivations that go beyond government intention and transcends the social model of disability. This perspective of mainstreaming as a way to build a positive mutual identity finds roots in the affirmative model of disability (French and Swain 2004). This model embraces the positive identity of PWD and allows them to be different while being equal at the same time. As such it allows PWD and nondisabled people to create a mutual identity based on their sport.

Besides the NGBs expressing an understanding of mainstreaming as building mutual identity, some respondents of sport clubs expressed a similar understanding. Amongst those sport clubs, Sivir head of teaching of a swim club for example, considers building a mutual identity as an important aspect of mainstreaming. She emphasised the need for further inclusion which not only allows athletes with disabilities to participate and compete alongside their nondisabled peers but allows them to build a mutual identity. It allows them "to be just the same, to build an identity based on swimming" (Sivir, Swim Club).

This understanding of mainstreaming supersedes the expectations of current mainstreaming policy in a positive way and shows that some NGBs and grassroots sport clubs are working towards a more positive and idealistic form of inclusion which is founded on the creation of a mutual identity based on sport. This view works towards the creation of a mutual identity that supersedes being an athlete with a disability or a nondisabled athlete.

Those who developed an inclusive understanding of mainstreaming have done so at different levels of sophistication. The most basic level of understanding mainstreaming in an inclusive way is to view it as a strategy towards barrier removal. Considering that barrier removal is entrenched in the EQA 2010, which has been around for more than seven years, it should be expected that actors in the sport landscape adopt some understanding of mainstreaming that conforms to barrier removal. However, the interviews show a more comprehensive approach towards mainstreaming where actors in the sports landscape are integrating mainstreaming in their organisational strategy. This view extends inclusion from barrier removal to a more systematic approach in which organisation attempt to rethink their current projects and make them more inclusive, e.g. the inclusive start to swim programme from the ASA. Lastly, and most surprisingly, some actors show an understanding of mainstreaming that goes beyond the basic understanding that is based on legal requirements and even beyond the broader approach to inclusion previously discussed. These actors view mainstreaming as a strategy to create a mutual identity based on the sport played. The creation of such mutual identity could advance

mainstreaming efforts in the sports landscape and should be further explored in the future. Moreover, both these two more sophisticated levels of understanding mainstreaming could have a positive impact on the principle-practise gap. It shows that some actors in the sports landscape have the desire to adopt inclusion in their organisational strategy and further advance mainstreaming in the sports landscape. Diverging from this understanding of mainstreaming as inclusion, the next section discusses a perspective on mainstreaming that is defined by choice.

Mainstreaming: Choice

The second category identified through data analysis is the understanding of mainstreaming as having a "choice". This understanding incorporates elements discussed in the previous section on inclusion while it adds an important role for segregated disability sports provision. As such it takes a slightly different approach to mainstreaming compared to inclusion. Whereas inclusion is focussed on the integration of PWD in the mainstream, "choice" is about giving the opportunity to PWD to participate in sport the way they want, with whom they want. This can be in a disability-specific sport club or a mainstream one; with friends, family, people with the same impairment, etc. As such, inclusion does play a crucial role as without inclusive opportunities there cannot be choice.

The concept of choice can be explained by criticism of the social model of disability. Part of such criticism is that significance should be given to the personal experience of the individual with a disability (Lang 2007). It is argued that the subjective experience of PWD should play an important role (Crow 1996). Consequently, it is about recognising the different needs and wants of PWD.

The understanding of mainstreaming being about providing choice to PWD can also be found in Sport England's strategy. This becomes clear when Athena from Sport England explains mainstreaming as a strategy for creating equal opportunity. In this case, equal opportunity takes the form of providing an opportunity to choose how to participate in sport. Athena described choice as the need to:

> "support disabled people [sic] to take part in an activity of their choice, at a location of their choice, with an activity level of their choice" (Athena, Sport England)

Demeter from the EFDS shares the same understanding of mainstreaming. Demeter explains that for her and the EFDS "sport and physical activity should be available for everyone whenever

they want it". This implies PWD should both have the opportunity and choice to participate in sport the way they want. This view was also shared by Hermes from Limb Power who stated:

> "For me, it is all about choice. If you decide to go and participate in sports with other disabled people [sic], then that's fine that should be an option. An opportunity for a disabled person should be the same as for an able-bodied [sic] person. It should not be any different." (Hermes, Limb Power)

The perspective of mainstreaming portrait above considers the participation of PWD in a disability specific context, an inclusive context, whether in a separate session or in a nondisabled session as equal. Consequently, the end goal of mainstreaming strategy in this context is not necessarily the inclusive mainstream club. However, the creation of inclusive mainstream clubs is an important barrier to overcome to achieve its real goal of providing choice.

Applying the conceptual framework, it becomes apparent that desirability is a useful lens to understand why these actors emphasise a need for disability-specific sport provision. Both the EFDS and Sport England recognise the need to strive towards inclusion while emphasising the importance of providing PWD the choice to participate in sport the way they want. This reflects the broader strategy of these two organisations for the sports landscape. Both the EFDS and Sport England have a responsibility towards disability-specific sport clubs and PWD. For example, Sport England is responsible for all grassroots sports participation whether this takes place in the mainstream or within a disability context. Consequently, their understanding and vision of mainstreaming is in part influenced by their role. This translates into an understanding of mainstreaming that is aligned with their responsibilities, which not only concern mainstream sport provision but disability sports provision as well. Similarly, LimbPower is an impairment-specific organisation that relies on providing a separated service to PWD. Moreover, as the literature review highlights, disability organisations have traditionally viewed mainstream providers as a threat (Thomas and Smith 2009). Consequently, understanding mainstreaming as choice allows disability-specific organisations to protect their niche in the sports landscape while recognising mainstreaming policy.

The mainstream sports clubs are noticeable in their absence, the interviews indicate that they do not share this view of mainstreaming as being about "choice". As mentioned in the previous section, sport clubs view mainstreaming as a strategy towards inclusion. This is not surprising as traditionally there are no relationships between the mainstream and the disability sport clubs or other disability organisations. Furthermore, considering the traditional role of mainstream sport clubs, they are only concerned with those who wish to be mainstreamed. Besides, they

are unlikely to promote choice in a competitive market where their existence is dependent on the fees that members pay.

The understanding of mainstreaming as a strategy towards choice, which emphasises inclusive participation is a positive trend forward in bridging the principle-practice gap. It shows that some disability-specific sport organisations are understanding the importance of inclusive participation. These disability-specific organisations fulfil an important role in addressing the principle-practice gap as they are supposed to be signposting PWD to mainstream sport opportunities. However, cooperation between mainstream sport organisations and disability sport organisations is still lacking and as such mainstreaming policy should include strategy to enhance cooperation.

The last perspective on mainstreaming to emerge from the interviews views mainstreaming in terms of ability. This perspective highlights a potential issue to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Understanding mainstreaming in terms of ability introduces potential barriers to both the understanding in terms of choice and inclusive participation.

Mainstreaming: Ability

The third perspective of mainstreaming to emerge from the data analysis is "ability" which is linked to the concept of ableism. Ableism was highlighted in the conceptual framework as an important barrier to successful implementation of mainstreaming policy. The understanding of mainstreaming from the perspective of ability has its roots in ableism and shows the perseverance of the medical model of disability in the sports landscape. The perspective of ability introduces limitations to mainstreaming based on (dis)ability and as such introduces barriers to both the perspective of choice and inclusion discussed in the previous sections.

The understanding of mainstreaming from an ability perspective is ableist as it presumes that PWD have to do things (in this case sport) in the same way as nondisabled people. It judges PWD on their physical capacity and has expectations that the only valued result is overcoming disability. As a result, mainstreaming from this perspective is viewed as inclusion for the select few who can conform to a nondisabled environment and "overcome" their disability. This expectation of overcoming one's disability fits with Hehir's (2002) understanding of ableism (see page 17-18).

Perhaps surprisingly, this ableist understanding of mainstreaming was expressed by Taliyah, who is secretary of a disability swim club and Lupin, who is an athlete with CP. Taliyah linked

mainstreaming to ability as for her mainstreaming means that only those athletes with disabilities who have the ability to perform at a similar level as nondisabled athletes can be mainstreamed. She explained what mainstreaming means to her:

> "Mainstreaming is when someone has an ability to develop their stroke (swimming) significantly enough that they can hold their own alongside the normal targets and objectives of the mainstream club" (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

With this, she appears to be implying that the athlete with a disability has to be "good enough" to participate in the mainstream or overcome their disability, or as Kearney et al. describe it:

> "PWD should strive to eradicate or overcome their impairment in order to meet the standards of being, which are deemed as the acceptable 'ability norm' within and by society" (Kearney et al. 2017: 3–4)

As such, a view such as that from Taliyah reinforces the ableist idea of the "able-disabled". The able-disabled are those PWD who manage to achieve a level of sports participation which is deemed acceptable. This understanding of mainstreaming suggests the prevalence of ableism in the sense that Taliyah holds PWD to the same standards as their nondisabled peers. Only those athletes with disabilities who can achieve these nondisabled standards and overcome their disability can be mainstreamed. Such a view on mainstreaming provides extra barriers to participation and is in itself disabling.

Lupin, who has CP, experienced this ableist perspective to mainstreaming in practice. He experienced himself being measured against nondisabled standards of which he found himself as being incapable of achieving or as Taliyah put it earlier, he was unable to "hold his own" in a mainstream club. Lupin describes how his impairment prevented him from achieving the expected nondisabled standards in a mainstream swim club:

> "So, I have tried the mainstream swimming club but it was too fast, I have Cerebral Palsy, I cannot swim as fast. So, then I dropped out." (Lupin, PWD-CP)

While the specifics of the interaction between Lupin and the swim club in question remain unclear, the interviews indicated that it resulted in a negative experience that influenced Lupin's understanding of mainstreaming. Because of his negative experience with a mainstream sport club, he now believes that PWD cannot join a mainstream club as he explained:

> "If you do not have any disability, learning, sight, hearing or whatever it is, then you can go to the mainstream, but if you have a disability then you cannot." (Lupin, PWD-CP)

This example shows how easy it can be for PWD to internalise ableist perspectives based upon perceived negative experiences. Moreover, internalised ableism is powerful as it has a direct impact on who PWD believe they can be (Thomas 2007b). In this case, Lupin deciding not to take part in mainstream sport anymore, he has internalised the prejudice that people "like him" do not take part in mainstream sport but must participate separated in a disability-specific club.

The example of Lupin shows the importance of mainstreaming. It emphasises the need for mainstream sport clubs to think about how they can support PWD in a mainstream club. The interview with Lupin indicated that the sport club he attended held him to normative standards of the nondisabled athlete which resulted in him dropping out creating a negative experience.

One possible explanation is the lack of competence of the coach which is discussed in more detail in the training and coaching chapter. A second possible explanation are ableist motives of sport clubs resulting in the rejection of PWD joining them. Subsequently, this results in the negative experiences expressed. In light of mainstreaming policy and bridging the gap between principle and practice, it is important to prevent such negative experiences and prevent the formation of internalised ableist ideas. Negative experiences can create a chain-reaction as they are shared with their environment, which in turn can result in more internalised ableist views amongst PWD. Such a chain-reaction has been observed by Demeter from the EFDS who explained that she sees:

> "… people who have bad experiences with joining sport … go back and tell people about that experience and then that goes on and on. They are not very good about going back and telling people about good experiences." (Demeter, EFDS)

While the relevant literature is contradictory in the relationship between satisfaction and greater word of mouth, there is indication that negative experiences are more impactful and are likely to be delivered with greater force (Anderson 1998). Consequently, while there might not be greater word of mouth by PWD with negative experiences, Demeter's perception is likely the result of the impact and force of these negative experiences. Moreover, these insights emphasise the need to prevent negative experiences and the way mainstream sport clubs support PWD in their club can have an incremental impact in this.

The experiences and perspectives portrait above show some of the obstacles for mainstreaming policy to be successfully implemented. It shows that there are some actors in the sports landscape who hold an ableist view on mainstreaming. These views can result in discriminatory

practices where only those who are deemed to be “able disabled” can be mainstreamed while all others should remain in the disability sport club. Furthermore, negative experiences of PWD in mainstream clubs can result in internalised ableism as they internalise the idea that people like “them” belong in a disability sport club and have no place in the mainstream. Consequently, viewing mainstreaming from an ability perspective results in barriers to the participation of PWD in the mainstream. Therefore, taking the above discussion in consideration, mainstreaming policy should partially focus on changing attitudes in the sports landscape while emphasising the positive experiences of PWD in mainstream sport provision. This focus is deemed necessary to counteract (internalised) ableist views in the sport landscape and strive towards a better implementation of mainstreaming policy.

With the three perspectives of mainstreaming which emerged from the data discussed, the next subsection attempts to bring these together to come to a better understanding of mainstreaming.

7.1.2. Towards a better understanding of mainstreaming

While the above sections discussed three distinct understandings of what mainstreaming entails and attempts to achieve, they indicate a movement towards a mutual understanding of mainstreaming in the sports landscape. What all three understandings have in common, is a movement towards inclusive participation in mainstream sport. Whether this is accompanied by the existence of disability sport clubs (choice) or by possible limitations to inclusion (ability), mainstreaming remains a strategy towards the inclusive club. As such, while Thomas (2004) reported that the sports landscape holds different views on mainstreaming, it seems that these views are now slowly becoming aligned, especially when considering that inclusion and choice can coexist to some extent.

Importantly, this alignment in understanding of mainstreaming is conforming to the mainstreaming strategy set out by Sport England and the EFDS. Furthermore, it seems that some NGBs have embraced mainstreaming policy and have made this part of their role in the sports landscape. Moreover, it seems that some NGBs and some sport clubs are moving beyond the expectations of mainstreaming policy set out by Sport England and are looking at mainstreaming as a way to create a mutual identity based on the sport played. This is a development that should be highly encouraged going further as it can be a useful tool to advance the mainstreaming agenda. Additionally, the understanding of most grassroots sport clubs is also conforming to the perspectives of mainstreaming set out by Sport England’s mainstreaming strategy. However, it

must be noted that grassroots sport clubs are not concerned about choice. This can be explained by their role and motivation. Mainstream sport clubs operate independently from disability sport clubs with limited interaction between them. As further analysis will show, fostering a relationship between mainstream sport clubs and disability specific sport clubs could be an interesting way forward in mainstreaming policy.

Despite this alignment in the sports landscape, where most actors have developed a common understanding of mainstreaming in line with the policy, there are still those who believe that mainstreaming is dependent on overcoming disability. This is shown by their understanding of mainstreaming in terms of ability. When taking into account that actors at each level choose a particular method of carrying out a policy with their personal values and objectives in mind (Ariel and Avidar 2015), having an ableist perspective of mainstreaming proves to be a significant barrier to implementing mainstreaming policy in practice.

In addition to barriers founded in ableist perspectives, understanding mainstreaming in terms of barrier removal is a rather outdated perspective of mainstreaming which tends to be understood as the removal of physical barriers, while inclusion, as previously discussed, means much more. Additionally, some actors in the sports landscape reported to have limited or no understanding of mainstreaming. For example, Ashe, chair of an athletics club, who said that he did not know “too much” about mainstreaming and was unable to explain what it entails. As such, it seems that there are some actors in the sports landscape who either remain unaware of policy or have an outdated view of them. These findings indicate that previous finding of Harris et al. (2009) and May et al. (2013), who stated that the majority of sport clubs have poor awareness and many hold outdated views, still hold truth today, however, in a more nuanced matter. Both a lack of understanding and the outdated view can be related to the directive-distortion problem (Downs 1964). The myriad of independent organisations that shape the complex sports landscape makes effective communication difficult (Burcher 2012 see Figure 7, page 103) which for some sport clubs result in a message that is partially or completely lost in transmission as a result.

Lastly, it must be noted that a positive understanding of mainstreaming that is in line with policy objectives does not ensure implementation in practice. As the survey conducted at the beginning of this study showed that less than 2% of the members in a mainstream sport club have some form of disability while 35% of the sport clubs reported to have no members with a disability whatsoever. However, these positive attitudes and understanding of mainstreaming is

an important start. Moreover, creating awareness should be an integral part of any mainstreaming strategy and should go both ways. It is important that the sports sector becomes more aware of mainstreaming and their role within it, while there is also a need to create awareness amongst PWD so that they (re)consider mainstream sports provision as being an option. Awareness is a recurring topic amongst the interviews and is closely linked to communication. Without effective communication, awareness will be limited. As such this will be touched upon throughout this analysis.

Building on the discussion on the understanding of mainstreaming, there are two views which are in line with the understanding of mainstreaming of Sport England (inclusion and choice). Therefore, based on the understanding of key actors in the sport landscape a shared definition of mainstreaming sport provision can be formulated as: the creation of equal sporting opportunity for PWD through supporting them to participate in sport the way they want and with whom they want while fostering a mutual identity based on the sport or disciplined played. For this to become reality, there is a need for more inclusion, which is the participation of PWD in a nondisabled context, in the sports sector with the emphasis on creating inclusive mainstream clubs. In this sense, mainstreaming is a strategy to contest ableism in the sports landscape. More idealistically, mainstreaming is about creating a mutual identity based on sport which moves beyond separation based on impairment.

The above discussion resulted in a better understanding of how mainstreaming is perceived in the sports landscape. It shows that there is a certain knowledge base around mainstreaming policy, more specifically in the understanding of such policy as a strategy towards inclusive sport clubs, which is deemed necessary for successful implementation. This is shown in the sphere of communicability of the conceptual framework. However, the discussion also highlighted some barriers that are inherent to the understanding of mainstreaming by some actors. Furthermore, it also highlighted a difference of opinion to what the outcome of mainstreaming should be. The next section considers the desired extent of mainstreaming in the sports landscape.

7.2. The extent of mainstreaming

One of the dilemmas highlighted during the interviews is the question of how far mainstreaming should go in the sports sector. The dilemma is whether mainstream sport should become so inclusive that disability-specific sport becomes obsolete or whether disability sport clubs are unique enough to have a future in the sports landscape. During the interviews, various perspectives of where mainstreaming should go were expressed. This is closely related to the

findings in the previous section which highlighted that some actors view mainstreaming as creating choice and as such see a future for disability specific sport clubs while others saw mainstreaming more as inclusion with the possible end result being the replacement of disability-specific sport clubs by inclusive mainstream ones. These perspectives highlight the dilemma of how far mainstreaming should go. Moreover, current mainstreaming policy does not have a clear long-term vision. Additionally, these contrasting perspectives are also found in the relevant literature with Bernard Atha, chair and president of the EFDS, arguing that the increasing involvement of NGBs and other mainstream sports organisations could replace disability sport clubs altogether, whilst Bob Price, chair of the BPA and former president of the EPC, argues that mainstream sport would never take on disability fully, thus creating a niche in which disability sport clubs can operate (Thomas 2003).

With discussions going both ways, this section will explore mainstreaming of the sports landscape further. The analysis focusses on the grassroots sport clubs by exploring the perspectives of PWD and sport organisations involved. This discussion builds on the various ways people look at mainstreaming, which were discussed in the previous section. As such this section helps to frame the expectations of mainstreaming policy which has an important impact on the principle-practice gap as the conceptual framework highlights that a disconnect between policy intent and expectations of the target audience can pose a barrier to successful implementation.

Looking at the level of the grassroots sport club the dilemma is whether disability specific sport clubs will remain relevant in the future or whether they can be replaced by inclusive mainstream clubs. To understand whether there is a need for disability specific sport clubs it is important to consider the experiences of PWD themselves and how they perceive mainstreaming. Thinking back to the way people understand mainstreaming, there were those who envisioned a move away from separated sports provision while others saw mainstreaming as having a choice. Considering the principle-practice gap, the discussion on the extent of mainstreaming highlights some limitations faced by such policy. From the interviews three themes emerged, participation with other PWD; disabling attitudes; and limitations of mainstream clubs, which are found to pose barriers to mainstreaming.

7.2.1. Participation with other people with disabilities

During the interviews, it became clear that participating with other PWD is a noteworthy argument as to why there remains an important role for disability specific sport clubs. As previously mentioned, some sport organisations expressed mainstreaming as providing choice

to PWD. More specifically, choice is about giving PWD the opportunity to participate in sport alongside other PWD. The interviews highlight that there are sport organisations who claim that some PWD prefer a disability-specific context over a mainstream context.

Taliyah, who works with people with learning impairments in a disability swim club, expressed her experience with this:

> "Some people genuinely do not want to (be mainstreamed) and are happy to swim in a supported environment (disability specific sport club)" (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

However, she did not go into details as to why they might prefer the "supported" environment as she called the disability sport club. Similarly, Hera from CP sport emphasised that some PWD specifically want to participate amongst others with similar impairments:

> "They do not want to be with the mainstream, they want to be with people with similar impairments. It is just wanting to be with your own cohort" (Hera, CP Sport)

While some PWD did indeed express an interest to participate in sports with other PWD during the interviews, none of them indicated that it had to be with others who have similar impairments. As such it is important to keep in mind the motivation of an organisation such as CP Sport which is an impairment specific organisation that relies on people from a specific impairment group to participate together.

Looking for explanations as to why PWD might prefer a disability-specific environment, the interviews highlighted one reason in particular. Disability-specific sport clubs are perceived as a "safe" sporting environment. Data from the interviews show two elements to this, both are related to the fact that most people participating in these clubs have a disability themselves which can lower the barrier to participation for others. Both Nigella and Kino expressed this sentiment of disability-specific sport clubs being "safe places" to participate in sport, although for very different reasons.

Nigella who is a young woman with Harlequin Ichthyosis, a condition that makes her skin grow faster and prone to injury, works in a mainstream sports centre and used to participate in mainstream sport. However, she would now prefer to participate in a disability-specific sport club as she is now more scared to get physically hurt. Nigella explained her situation:

> "I am cautious of being hurt. My skin splits so easily. I did football with girls who were able-bodied [sic] and I was cautious then, as I got older I got more scared

> and would prefer to participate amongst other disabled." (Nigella, PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis)

Nigella is scared that the lack of understanding of her disability in the mainstream sport club will result in her physically getting hurt. She prefers the disability specific sport club as people there would be more aware and as a result be more careful as not to cause her physical harm. As such the disability-specific sport club provides a safe alternative to the mainstream ones.

A different perspective as to why a disability-specific sport club is experienced as a safe place comes from Kino. Kino, who acquired her disability from an accident, explained that a mainstream club would be too big of a gap to bridge after her accident. She did not feel confident enough to participate amongst the nondisabled after the onset of her disability. She explained that her lack of confidence stems from alterations to her body caused by the accident she was in:

> "My right leg was amputated above the knee and I had bone reconstruction. There have been a lot of surgeries …. I lost control of some parts of my face. People look and act differently because of it and it makes you doubt yourself"

A lack of confidence caused by a negative body image is common amongst PWD and is to be expected in the initial period after the onset of disability (Taleporos and McCabe 2002). Such a negative body image is caused by negative social attitudes towards physical difference and the idolisation of physical perfection (Hargreaves 2000). Furthermore, being a young woman in a society where women are primarily judged in terms of their looks and appearance can result in even more pressure and enhances a negative self-image (Brittain 2004). While sport appears to help PWD to adjust to their disability, accept their body and develop a positive body image (Taleporos and McCabe 2002), low self-esteem and a lack of self-confidence can act as a strong deterrent for many PWD to become involved in the first place, or as Brittain puts is:

> "consider the fact that placing themselves in a sporting context is very likely to exacerbate the visibility of the very physical differences that lead to these feelings and perceptions in the first place."(Brittain 2004: 440)

However, Kino perceived the disability-specific sport club as a safe place. She sees the disability sport club as a safe place because everyone there would be disabled and as such, be in the "same boat" as her. Knowing this allowed Kino to overcome her lack of self-confidence and participate in sport. Additionally, Kino explained that in a disability-specific sport club "there is a level of understanding that makes you feel more at home and more at ease" (Kino, PWD-Limb Impairment). This experience helped her to develop a more positive self-image and gave her the

confidence to participate in mainstream sport. Moreover, she now has the confidence to run in publicly organised events and recently ran the London 10K.

Amongst the same lines, Jacob explained that being amid other PWD provides an important opportunity for self-development and to learn more about your and others disability. He explained:

> "I was going through a really bad depression because I genuinely thought that I was the worst off in the world and then you meet people who are worse off than you and people who are better off… you learn loads from them. For me, it was therapy." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

Being amongst other PWD provided a new perspective for him. He learned that other people who are "worse" off than him could cope and were able to participate in sport. He was able to learn valuable strategies and methods from these interactions with other PWD that are useful in his life beyond the sporting context. Additionally, it resulted in a form of self-acceptance which allowed him to become more self-confident and see himself in a more positive matter. He did note that this does not necessarily have to happen through sport and could be done through other social interaction between PWD. It just happened to be through sport for him.

7.2.2. Disabling attitudes

A recurring theme amongst the interviewees was their experience with attitudes of people being "too" helpful. Importantly, these attitudes were experienced in both the mainstream and disability-specific sport context. Kino described her experience participating in a mainstream sport club and while she had a positive experience "everyone was really helpful", she found that these helping attitudes alienated her from the others. She described it as "able-bodied [sic] people tend to feel sorry for you or try and be too helpful". This attitude where the nondisabled feel sorry for PWD has roots in ableism. Ableism allows the nondisabled to express profound and sincere sympathy towards PWD while at the same time assuming they are helpless, dependent and in need of protectors (Hahn 1986). Understanding the experience of being "too helpful" in this way helps to explain why this is experienced as an alienating experience for Kino and other PWD.

Echoing Kino's experience, Jacob also experienced this "helpful" attitude in the mainstream and experienced his own frustrations with it. He particularly differentiates between a mainstream sport club and a disability-specific sport club where he did not experience these attitudes. Jacob said:

> "Where you play with others who got a disability, you just crack on, do your own thing. Where with mainstream they are more considerate. They are always like 'are you OK?'; 'can I help you'; 'do you need a hand'; to the point where I feel like 'God! I can do it myself!'". (Jacob, PWD)

As illustrated, Jacob did not experience these attitudes of being too helpful in a setting with other PWD as everyone there is in the same situation. However, Jacob's experience emphasises the prevalence of ableism in society in which PWD are viewed as in need of help. Moreover, over time Jacob developed a more "positive" attitude towards these helpful attitudes and internalised that it is "polite" to let others offer him help. He explained that physical obstacles make his life hard and that help from others does make his life easier. This acceptance of paternalized assumptions shows the perseverance of internalised ableism. Jacob is encouraged to internalise the assumption that he is in need of help from the nondisabled while in reality, it is the physical barriers, such as described by Jacob: "doors and stuff", that prevent him from being independent.

In addition to attitudes in mainstream clubs of being "too helpful", Daisy and Lily experienced these attitudes in a disability-specific sports setting. They experienced that disability-specific sport clubs are "too helpful" and can be limiting in what you are allowed to do out of safety concerns. Because of these attitudes in the disability-specific sport club, Lily expressed a clear preference for the mainstream because "you do not get treated as being different" as opposed to the disability sport clubs, which show similar ableist attitudes as experienced by Jacob and Kino. In Lily's words:

> "With the disabled swimming clubs, everyone is too 'are you able to do that?' and trying to be too helpful and too nice." (Lily, PWD-Blind)

Interestingly, Lily sees the limited experience of mainstream sport clubs with PWD as the reason to why they do not treat her differently than nondisabled.

> "I prefer the mainstream because they have little experience of disabled people [sic], you do not get treated as being different, so you are expected to go in and join in like everyone else." (Lily, PWD-Blind)

Furthermore, Lily also talked about negative experiences with mainstream sport clubs. She experienced ableist attitudes in some sport clubs as they approached her as a person in need of care and protection. She explained:

> "Not too far from where I live there is another sports club where I am not allowed to use the gym unless there is someone watching me and someone has to swim alongside me in the pool. I do not need that, I am physically a good

> swimmer, I can run without a problem. It is that really, it puts you off going because you do not need someone doing that." (Lily, PWD-Blind)

Consequently, PWD confronted with these ableist attitudes are put off from participating in sport. They have no interest in being "babysat" while participating in sport. Daisy had similar experiences with disability sport clubs. She feels disability sport clubs are more concerned with "therapy" than with sporting objectives. During the interviews, Daisy talked about her interest in horse jumping, but when she approached disability sport clubs they suggested horse therapy as an alternative. She said: "I just want to jump, I am not interested in therapy". She dislikes disability specific sport clubs as they tend to dictate what PWD can or cannot do. She explained this with a cooking analogy saying:

> "Imagine someone asked you: 'can I cook something for you, can I cook high cuisine?' and you would not let them because it is too hard and maybe they will hurt themselves." (Daisy, PWD-CP)

These are similar attitudes as previously described, which point to the prevalence of ableism where PWD are considered to be in need of protection and care. These attitudes are limiting and discriminatory in what PWD are allowed to do within these sport clubs.

When looking at these experiences it is clear that ableism exists in both mainstream and disability-specific sport clubs. Consequently, it is not the "setting", i.e. mainstream or disability specific, but the people in charge of those settings who are responsible for these ableist experiences. Considering that just like mainstream sport clubs, disability sport clubs often rely on nondisabled volunteers and coaches, it is perhaps not surprising to find ableist attitudes here. As such these findings extend existing literature on ableism in the sports sector, which previously indicated ableist perspectives in elite sport (Brittain and Beacom 2016, Huang 2005) and in the type of sport provision mainstream clubs offer (Jeanes et al. 2016). Consequently, a change in the sports landscape by abandoning disability specific sport clubs or having them coexist is not a solution to changing these ableist attitudes. Perhaps Daisy makes a good point when she said:

> "The problem (disabling attitudes) and it is not about sports clubs, it is about society in general" (Daisy, PWD-CP)

Indeed, the relevant literature suggests that ableist attitudes are a concern in our broader society (Campbell 2011). As such a wider change of attitudes in society is necessary to overcome the disabling experiences described above. Accordingly, for mainstreaming policy to be effective, it should take into account this need to change attitudes.

7.2.3. Limitations of mainstream sport clubs

The third theme to emerge from the data is linked to the feasibility of mainstreaming in the grassroots sports setting. During the interviews it was expressed that mainstream sport clubs are incapable of catering for some disabilities. Consequently, this highlights a limitation as to how far mainstreaming can go at the moment. One of these limitations to how far mainstreaming can go is explained by Taliyah and Hera. They say that people with more severe disabilities will never be able to go to the mainstream. Both approach mainstreaming from the previously discussed "ability" point of view and emphasise the need to be able to perform. Taliyah sees mainstream swim clubs as being performance focussed organisations where it is all about "how well you can swim". As such, mainstream clubs would only serve a purpose for mild disabilities or for those who can "keep up" with the nondisabled swimmers. Hera has a similar point of view:

> "Your mainstream club will not cater well for your lower classified swimmers. The swim club would say they would not keep up." (Hera, CP Sport)

There is an argument that mainstream sport clubs who provide parallel sessions could cater for lower classified athletes. However, looking at the current state of the sports landscape there is only a small proportion, less than 7%, of the mainstream sport clubs who provide parallel sessions (Sport and Recreation Alliance 2013). Furthermore, parallel sessions are characterised by clubs who have a higher than average membership (Sport and Recreation Alliance 2013) pointing towards the need of scale for parallel sessions to be viable. As such, the views expressed by Hera and Taliyah are a valid concern that mainstream sport clubs are for performing athletes and that some sport clubs will refuse PWD on account of their ability. Some of these club attitudes were observed during the interviews. For example, Caitlyn who said:

> "at the end of the day we are not a disability swimming club and I think that is what we have to bear in mind" (Caitlin, Swim Club)

However, the feasibility aspect goes beyond the discussion of whether a swimmer can keep up in the mainstream. For example, there are PWD who lost the ability to move altogether, while others need special care beyond the scope of mainstream clubs or are in need of one-to-one sessions that are not feasible in a mainstream sport club. Taliyah experiences this with her own children who have muscular dystrophy. She says:

> "If you try and mainstream them, then you will not be able to do it. It is not always feasible to mainstream someone." (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

Explaining that her children are severely limited in their movement and need extensive care while being in the pool, she also generalised that there are other impairments that are just too severe to find a place in the mainstream.

> "Some are too severely disabled … they have lost that physical ability to move, trying to mainstream would not even be comfortable for them" (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

However, the interviewees did seem to agree that having the option to participate in the mainstream by those who choose to do so is important. As such an important aspect of mainstreaming is to make sure that when an athlete with a disability goes to a local grassroots sport club they are accepted and welcomed in. Moreover, it is important for PWD who attend disability specific sport clubs that there are opportunities to go into the mainstream when they wish to do so. Mainstreaming is about creating equal opportunities and not necessarily about moving all PWD in to a mainstream environment. The interviews brought to light a hybrid sport club model, which is an interesting and innovative way of bridging the gap between a mainstream sport club and a disability-specific sport club which could address many of the concerns raised above. This will be addressed in the next session.

7.2.4. Hybrid sport clubs

Unexpectedly, one of the sport clubs interviewed for this study turned out to be a hybrid sport club. A hybrid sport club is a merger between a disability sport club and a mainstream sport club and has as of yet not been addressed in the relevant literature. In this specific case, both sport clubs operated in the same venue and after years of closer cooperation they decided to merge in 2016. Their inclusion officer said there were financial motives behind the merger but that it has worked very well so far (Olaf, Swim Club).

It is worth discussing here the difference between a mainstream club that offers a parallel session and a hybrid club. While there are similarities to some extent, a hybrid club goes beyond the disability offer of the mainstream club. The parallel offer is often limited in scope (e.g. one session for PWD), is often limited to the participation of certain impairment groups (e.g. only for people with learning difficulties) and is often organised at an introductory or recreative level. The hybrid sport club on the other hand provides a disability structure similar to that of mainstream sport provision with a wide range of sessions covering sessions from the

introductory level to the competitive level with attention to the Paralympic talent pathway[40]. Furthermore, the hybrid sport club is able to cater for a broader range of disabilities. Perhaps it is best to see the mainstream club offering parallel sessions as a first step towards a hybrid approach.

The hybrid model which brings both mainstream and disability-specific opportunities under one club, could provide an answer to concerns raised about how far mainstreaming should or could go. Having both mainstream and disability-specific aspects to the club allows the club to cater for those who seek to enter the sport in a safe environment amongst other PWD, addressing a major concern previously discussed. Additionally, PWD can easily give the mainstream a chance as it provides the opportunity to easily transition when they want to. Moreover, as participation takes place in the same club it takes away some of the barriers to mainstream participation (e.g. finding a mainstream club, participating with the same people). Additionally, some people might find it easier to give mainstream a try when they know they have the disability-specific part of the club to fall back on.

Most interviewees positively welcomed the idea of these hybrid sport clubs. Lucian, the chair of a swim club, envisions that more sport clubs will follow this example and sees more sport clubs and disability specific sport clubs coming together as part of mainstreaming efforts. Thus, mainstreaming could result in hybrid clubs rather than a mainstream-disability specific distinction.

PWD themselves also viewed hybrid sport clubs as a positive way forward. Lily (PWD-Visual Impairment) thought it "would be nice if they could merge and not be separated off" highlighting her view of separation of services being a negative thing. Lily explained that this would allow PWD to just turn up to a sport club and be certain of being able to join them rather than having to travel a fair distance for a disability-specific one. Lily makes an important point here as transportation is often negatively correlated with sports participation by PWD (Buffart et al. 2009, Saebu 2010). While public transportation has taken great strides forward, they still provide barriers to PWD (Katzmann 2010). Thus, providing sporting opportunity to PWD in their close vicinity through mainstreaming is an important way of addressing the participation gap between PWD and the nondisabled.

[40] The talent pathway, also referred to as performance pathway, aims to identify, prepare and support athletes that have the potential of winning medals at future Olympic or Paralympic Games.

The second advantage of hybrid clubs was explained by Daisy (PWD-CP). For her, an important aspect of hybrid clubs is that PWD and the nondisabled see each other participate. This in turn should help with changing the perception of the nondisabled about PWD but also change PWD perception about the mainstream. Consequently, this could help change disabling attitudes as a better understanding of each other is developed. As previously mentioned, ableism is still prevalent in today's society limiting the opportunities of PWD in their sports participation and changing these attitudes should be one of the priorities of mainstreaming policy.

However, in practice, it is not always easy to create cooperative links between both a mainstream club and a disability-specific club. Historically, the relationship between disability sports provision and the mainstream has been troublesome at best while perceived to be hostile by some (Thomas and Smith 2009, 2016) making cooperative initiatives difficult. Riven, the head coach of a swim club, talked about his experience with his club seeking closer ties with a disability club within the same area.

> "We had links with them for years. Our chairman used to go to their committee meetings until the chair said, 'what do you want?' So, we were there with the intention to help, in the end, they did not want us. We felt pushed away. (Riven, Swim Club)

So, while Riven did not see any conflict of interest, they were pushed away from a closer cooperation to the point where each of them is going their own direction again. This not only shows the fragmented sports landscape with changing relationships and the importance of individuals but it also shows that these historically rooted attitudes still play a role. Moreover, it shows the difficulty that policymakers can face if they decide that hybrid clubs are a potential way forward.

Considering that many mainstream grassroots sport clubs see competitive play as part of their DNA, they are supportive towards their nondisabled members to be competitive. As such, it is only natural to look at mainstreaming at a competitive level next.

7.3. Mainstreaming events and competition

Mainstreaming policy does not only affect the working of sport clubs but, as the interviews show, have an important influence in the running of sport events and competition. As such, this section addresses the principle-practice gap by examining mainstreaming at a competitive level. The interviews highlight that mainstreaming happens in two different ways, hybrid and inclusive, which draws a parallel to the understanding of mainstreaming as being choice or inclusion. The

chapter then seeks to establish whether mainstream sport clubs are supportive of their members with disabilities to be competitive. This is an important aspect of mainstreaming as the relevant literature suggests that PWD participate in sport for the same reasons their nondisabled peers do (Brasile et al. 1991, EFDS 2013) and as such have an interest in competitive sport. Lastly, this section addresses some of the issues around mainstreaming that emerged from the interviews. The discussion on these issues indicate a negative impact on mainstreaming policy and as such, help explain the principle-practice gap.

7.3.1. Hybrid and inclusive events

The interviews highlight two approaches towards mainstreaming sports events. There is "full inclusivity" which means that PWD can participate in mainstream events and competition and do so in the same disciplines alongside nondisabled competitors. This form of mainstreaming events is further referred to as "inclusive events". The second approach to emerge from the interviews is "parallel participation" in events. Parallel participation consists of an event hosting both mainstream and disability-specific competition during one single event (e.g. the Commonwealth Games) rather than having two separated events (e.g. the Olympic and Paralympic Games). This form of mainstreaming will be further referred to as "hybrid events".

From the interviews it emerged that national championships and many of the open meets[41] of swimming and athletics which are being held these days, are taking steps towards mainstreaming. Moreover, most events provide opportunities for inclusive participation while the bigger events are adopting the hybrid model. This hybrid approach is a trend that is also seen with some international events such as the Commonwealth Games, who incorporate disability disciplines parallel to the mainstream ones. Furthermore, as the interviews show, this hybrid approach is being adopted at lower levels of competition. For example, Braum's sport club had held an open meet a couple of weeks previously and he explained the hybrid approach they took:

> "So, the open meeting we held here a couple of weeks ago, we had disability events within the programme" (Braum, Athletic Club)

However, Braum was conscious of the fact that many sport clubs still have a questionable approach to mainstreaming. One of the reasons highlighted during the interviews are the ableist perspectives that some actors in the sport landscape hold (see page 121). However, Braum

[41] An open meet is a competitive event hosted by a sport club and is open to all athletes to participate.

noted a positive trend with more sport clubs considering mainstreaming to be an option for them. He stated that:

> "…some events go like, Can I (make our event inclusive or hybrid)? They see examples and then think about it and then realise they can." (Braum, Athletic Club)

Consequently, to change perceptions of what sport clubs are able to realise, it is necessary to have successful examples of integrated and hybrid events. Such examples are important as it can make nondisabled people more aware of mainstreaming policy and how they can integrate this in their own events. Moreover, Bard who is chair of a sport club explained that providing inclusive experiences has an important impact in the way people look at sport for PWD and results in a more positive attitude towards PWD participating in mainstream events, especially when this happens at the grassroots level which has close interactions between the competitors.

The interviews show that some NGBs are mainstreaming their events. Both NGBs for swimming and athletics indicate they are taking up a leadership role and organise inclusive and hybrid events. As such both the national championships for swimming and athletics are hybrid events. Moreover, they allow inclusive participation to some extent. Artemis was proud to point out that Athletics has been doing this for a couple of years now:

> "Our national championships, our competitions, we have had integrated events (both inclusive and hybrid events) for a number of years now. When people go they see a competition with both disabled and people taking part, everything is the same and they look at that and think this is how it looks and it becomes more normal at their club. If they are running an open meet, hopefully, we are leading the way in a supportive way." (Artemis, England Athletics)

Besides pointing out that they have been organising hybrid events for a number of years, Artemis pointed out their leadership role in the sports landscape, which as mentioned before, plays an important role in educating others on mainstreaming in sports. Moreover, the NGBs play an important role in normalising inclusive participation in events as they can set an example for other sport clubs to follow. By setting positive examples, the NGBs could positively impact the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Additionally, these examples show that it is feasible for sport competition to be hosted in a more inclusive environment and in extension, to implement mainstreaming policies further.

This positive trend towards more mainstreaming in events emerged from the interviews with participants being eager to talk about their experience with mainstreaming of events and nondisabled participants explaining how they were impressed when confronted with PWD who

participate in mainstream competition. Riven for example had positive experiences with the county championships and open meets that his sport club attends. Moreover, some of their officials have been engaged in officiating the disability disciplines. Riven described his experience and said:

> "The county championships, for example, have multi-classification but their disability swimmers usually swim in the earlier heats of races, which some of our officials have officiated. I also see quite a few disability swimmers at open meets that we have attended." (Riven, Swim Club)

A second example comes from Bard's personal experience as an athlete. He still participates in events himself and sees more and more athletes with disabilities participate alongside nondisabled athletes. He explained his experience:

> "They do integrate into able-bodied [sic] races. I have done races and you have got out of the swim and there is a chap with one leg climbing out in front of me and he is straight on the bike and off with his prosthetic limb." (Bard, Athletic Club)

Data from the interviews indicate a trend towards more inclusive participation in sport competition often combined with a hybrid approach. Moreover, the mainstream sport club is perceived to be supportive of PWD who have a desire to be competitive. As such, before going into some of the issues that emerged from the interviews in relation to mainstreaming competition, the next subsection will

7.3.2. Support for people with disabilities to be competitive

The desirability of grassroots sport clubs are often linked to competitive goals. With many grassroots sport clubs being perceived to have a competitive focus, it comes natural to assess whether mainstream sport clubs are, besides their nondisabled members, supportive of their athletes with disabilities to be competitive. From the data it emerged that all participants who are or have been active in sport and participated in a mainstream sport club, felt that they are being well supported to be competitive by their club. Moreover, these athletes with disabilities feel they are encouraged to participate in both mainstream and disability events. For example, Lupin said:

> "You can do both (mainstream and disability events), you are encouraged to do both… We are definitely encouraged to compete" (Lupin, PWD-CP)

It shows the desirability of mainstream clubs to not only support their nondisabled members to be competitive in mainstream sport with which they are familiar, but show support for PWD to

be competitive in both mainstream and disability-specific competition. Moreover, the respondents were very enthusiastic about the support they receive which showed in their responses:

> "I feel massive support to be competitive. I am supported to participate in both mainstream events and deaf sport events." (Daphne, PWD-Deaf)

The support for PWD to be competitive is linked to the sphere of feasibility of the conceptual framework. It shows that there is a support network for PWD to be competitive. Furthermore, the interviews show a desirability of the sport clubs to support their members with disabilities. For instance, Caitlyn who explained the situation in her swim club where two athletes with disabilities are being supported in their competitive aims:

> "We have one lad who is in S14 (intellectual disability) and is now swimming in national championships. We have another lad who is Deaf, so he goes to the Deaf championships. Within mainstream, both of those examples, they swim in the mainstream county championships but then they go off and do their specific competitions as well. (Caitlyn, Swim Club)

This shows that it is not only participants who experience support but that sport clubs are willing to support and encourage competitive participation of their athletes, including those who have a disability. Moreover, it seems that sport clubs are looking at what is relevant for their athletes and support them respectively.

PWD experienced enthusiasm and support to be competitive from their coaches and sport club. Furthermore, the sport clubs themselves also showed an interest in competitive sport for their members with disabilities. However, emerging from the interviews are some concerns with mainstreaming at sporting events and competition. As such, the next subsection will discuss mainstreaming at the competitive level with emphasis on some of the issues that emerged from the interviews.

7.3.3. Issues with mainstreaming of events and competition

Data from the interviews indicate that desirability and ableism also play a role at the competitive level. It emerged from the interviews that PWD are confronted with disabling attitudes from event organisers. Furthermore, linked to the sphere of feasibility, they are still confronted with a lack of equipment which makes their participation at the events difficult or in some cases even impossible. Lastly, the interviews indicated that a lack of mainstreaming in prestigious sport events, which receive much media attention and can be given a role model status, have a negative impact on lower level events and public perception around mainstreaming. As such,

four barriers to mainstreaming were identified through data analysis of the interviews: disabling attitudes; logistics; classification of athletes; and bad international examples.

Disabling attitudes

It was raised during the interviews that PWD are confronted with disabling attitudes of the people involved in the organisation of events competition. It appears that there are still people in the sport landscape, who are organising events, who have the perception that they cannot cater for PWD. Artemis from England Athletics experienced on multiple occasions that PWD are told they cannot take part in certain events. She explained:

> "we still have people saying we do not cater for disabled people [sic] rather than finding out if that person could take part anyway" (Artemis, England Athletics)

This shows that ableism is still playing a key role in the instigation of the mainstreaming process. People organising events do not allow PWD to take part based on the assumption that they would not be able to participate in their event. Jeanes et al. (2016) observed similar ableist attitudes at the club level, which was found to turn away players who were "too different". These attitudes encompass views that PWD are less able and as such not welcome to the club or event. Often, event organisers and mainstream clubs use safety discourses to legitimise this exclusion (Jeanes et al. 2016). However, interviews also indicate that the misunderstanding of disability and the perceptions people hold of what constitute disability has a significant impact on such ableist discourses. As the next chapter will show, people are quick to assume that someone who is disabled is a wheelchair user. This raises the importance of greater education and awareness raising as objectives of mainstreaming.

Feasibility of integration and hybrid events

The second issue that emerged from the interviews are problems with the logistics of events. Not all events have or provide the necessary equipment for PWD to participate. While PWD are being allowed to compete in certain events, they can be confronted with missing equipment making their participation more difficult or preventing them to take part altogether. Ashe, chair of an athletics clubs explained that some events he attends are missing important equipment for his athletes to participate. For example, the impaired throwers, who need to be physically restraint when competing, are often confronted with missing facilities to tie them down. Additionally, Daphne explained that competitions she runs at have no equipment for the hearing impaired. She has to rely on "feeling" the gunshot or she has to react to her competitors' movement to start. This lack of equipment can give her a disadvantage.

Bad international examples

The last issue to emerge from the interviews are the "bad" example of international events. While national mainstreaming policy has limited influence on the running of international events, it is important to be aware of their potential negative impact. The interviews highlighted the segregated nature of these international events as an obstacle to national mainstreaming policy in the UK. Demeter from the EFDS explained that a barrier to mainstreaming is:

> "The Paralympics, which in itself is a brilliant thing … is seen as very segregated" (Demeter, EFDS)

An event like the Paralympics has an immense reach and to see separated participation at that level impacts the perceptions people have on how sport for PWD should be organised and the way PWD should participate in sport.

Artemis raised concerns about the current situation for Athletics. She was very enthusiastic about the World Championships in Athletics 2017, as both the mainstream and disability World Championships were being hosted in the same city (London) to the example of the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Artemis expressed disbelief that it took so long for athletics to host the Championships in the same city. However, despite a successful edition it looks like this was a unique occasion brought to life by an initiative from the city of London (Davies 2012). Especially, with the next IAAF World Championship in Athletics 2019 being hosted in Doha (International Association of Athletics Federations 2014) and the IPC World Championships in Athletics being hosted in Dubai (International Paralympic Committee 2018)[42]. Consequently, despite this "special" edition of 2017 where both the IAAF and the IPC World Championships in Athletics took place in the same city, it does not look like this will be happening again in the near future.

One of the reasons theorised, is that in contrast to NGBs, who are assumed to take responsibility for athletes with disabilities, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) has not taken responsibility for athletes with disabilities. Consequently, the IAAF organises the mainstream championship while the IPC organises the Paralympic equivalent. This is also shown in the organisation of the IAAF Diamond League which visited London and Birmingham in 2018. As such, it seems that while NGBs in the UK are embracing mainstreaming policy and are moving

[42] The IPC World Championships have seen changing success. For example, the 2015 IPC World Championships in Athletics sold only 15.000 tickets in Doha while the 2017 edition hosted in London managed to sell around 280.000 tickets (Steinberg 2017)

towards more inclusive and hybrid events, their international counterparts have not necessarily adopted the same policies.

Furthermore, the Paralympic and Olympic Games are still being hosted in a segregated format despite close cooperation between the IOC and IPC. This cooperation has resulted in the Olympic and Paralympic Games being hosted in the same city since Seoul 1988 (Brittain 2012a). However, the Deaflympics and Special Olympics, which are recognised by the IPC, fall outside of the cooperation accords between the IPC and IOC. Consequently, they are hosted in different cities in the year after or before an "Olympic" year. This segregation in mega-events, whether it is a world championship or an international multi-sports event, is counterproductive when striving towards more mainstreaming. Artemis explained the impact:

> "It is a bit of a challenge like now with the Paralympics because people still see the segregation. That does not help to reinforce everything that we have been doing (mainstreaming with the events organised by them, e.g. national championship). It is challenging when people see Paralympics and Olympics and it is separate. Yet they are watching our National Championships and the London Muller Anniversary Games where they had disabled and nondisabled separated over two days. But now it is on the same day. It is getting closer, it meant if you had a ticket you could see both. That is a step forward." (Artemis, England Athletics)

The segregation of the Olympics and Paralympics did, however, find some sympathy amongst interviewees. They recognised the logistical nightmare of combining the two large scale events and argued that athletes with disabilities would be the big losers if a merger were to happen because their events would be the first ones to be axed. A similar logistical nightmare and financial burden have previously prevented the Paralympic Games and Deaflympics from merging (see Section 3.3.3, page 39). While the logistical nightmare prevents the Olympics to become a hybrid event, the interviews showed that there is an expectation for other international events to adopt a hybrid approach. It was found that if competition at a lower level, e.g. the national championships and competitions of a bigger scale, e.g. the Commonwealth Games, can host hybrid events then so should the other international events such as the world championships in athletics. However, such an aim is beyond the reach of national mainstreaming policy

This discussion highlights an important limitation for mainstreaming policy in the UK. International events, which are often held in high esteem and are in the spotlight of media, have a negative impact on the perceptions of society. It enhances the image that sport is a segregated

matter and that PWD should organise their own designated events. This perception is the opposite of what mainstreaming policy is trying to achieve. This discussion shows the limitations of national policy as it cannot dictate how international sport organisations should organise their events.

7.4. Mainstreaming the Deaf

The integration of people with hearing impairments is a more complicated story. As mentioned in the literature review (see page 36), people with hearing impairments were the first group of people with impairments to participate in organised sport. However they do not consider themselves as being disabled, they see themselves as being part of a language minority (Ammons 2008). This is complicated by the government and other international organisations, who do classify people with hearing impairments as being disabled (Roulstone and Prideaux 2012, World Health Organization 2011). It could be argued that people with hearing impairments do have things in common with other impairment groups. Most hearing impaired children grow up with hearing families and experience difficulties to participate in society (Ammons 2008). Moreover, they are often treated as marginalised citizens who are considered to be stupid or incompetent (Berkowitz and Jonas 2014). As such many of them have grown up in a society that discriminates and shows ableist tendencies towards them, much in the same way as people from other impairment groups have experienced.

What differentiates the Deaf is that they have the tendency to stick to themselves in a Deaf-society[43]. Within this Deaf-society, sport is considered to be a powerful bonding force and is an important aspect of Deaf-schools. Taking this into consideration, it is not surprising that Deaf athletes do not consider themselves disabled when participating in sport. This was experienced by Daphne who said that she feels the same as everybody else but speaks a different language. However, like other PWD interviewed, Daphne's impairment does make it harder to participate in society and find a sport club suitable for her.

Daphne highlights that her coach is the sole reason that she found her way into the mainstream. Without her coach, she would have to rely on her friends and personal contacts who are all from

[43] Being part of Deaf society, meant that most hearing impaired people participate exclusively amongst their Deaf peers (Ammons and Eickman 2012). For example, many Deaf children are/were placed in specific schools for the hearing impaired which in turn has an impact on their sport experience.

Deaf society. As the following quote shows, the result would be that she can only find Deaf clubs to participate with and would not know how to find mainstream sport clubs. Daphne stated:

> "I am only able to find Deaf clubs because it is through personal contacts. My Friends are Deaf so I would not know how to find a hearing club." (Daphne, PWD-Deaf)

This shows how the Deaf have created a community based on their "minority language" and shows the difficulty to engage with services provided outside of this community. While perhaps the Deaf are part of a language minority, they do face similar obstacles to enter the mainstream sport sector as other PWD. As such it is important that the Deaf are part of mainstreaming efforts.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter examined the perspectives of actors in the sports landscape in relation to mainstreaming policy using the conceptual framework as a lens. This resulted in a better understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming in the sports sector. The findings indicate that mainstreaming policy is slowly being accepted by the various actors in the sports landscape and that they hold views similar to those formulated by the policy maker. Furthermore, some actors seem to be integrating mainstreaming as part of their organisational strategy taking a more holistic approach to it. Here, the conceptual framework provides a useful lens to understand some of the motives of the actors in the sports landscape better. It seems that actors in the sport landscape are influenced by their desirability which has a significant impact on how they perceive mainstreaming. Organisations in the sports landscape attempt to shape mainstreaming policy in a way that fits with their values and objectives. Therefore, disability-specific sport organisations are very likely to advocate mainstreaming as "choice" which leaves an important niche to them.

While the perception of choice is a positive trend towards mainstreaming, there is need for some caution. Choice can be perceived as a strategy to maintain the status quo with a segregation of sport provision. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that a perspective of choice could become a barrier to mainstreaming policy when it only considers those who overcome their disability and are able to achieve nondisabled standards, the "able disabled", to be mainstreamed. Furthermore, disability sport clubs are seeking to protect their existence in the sports landscape and the perspective of choice could be understood as a strategy to do so. Additionally, inclusive opportunities at mainstream clubs have found to be focussing on PWD

that do not differ too much from their nondisabled peers and as such require limited or no changes to the way the mainstream club operates (Jeanes et al. 2016). As such, it is important for mainstreaming policy to emphasise the perspective of inclusion as it is inclusion that can break the status quo. Lastly, it is important to note that, while there is a need for the disability sport club at the moment, this does not imply that this need will always be there. Especially, when more sport clubs would adopt a hybrid model as previously discussed.

While discussing the notion of mainstreaming some of the barriers it faces to be successful where explored. These barriers have a negatively impact on the principle-practice gap as it prevents the successful implementation of mainstreaming policy. The concept of ableism proved useful here in understanding some of these barriers. The findings show that ableist attitudes and discourses are still prevalent in the sports sector and indicate how deeply rooted ableism is in our society. PWD are continuously held to the same standards as their nondisabled peers while also being patronised and excluded on the basic assumption that they are unable to perform at the desired level based on nondisabled norms and standards. Such discourses work as deterrents to sports participation of PWD as they often result in negative experiences. Such negative experiences are a powerful notion in the sports landscape as they can result in internalised ableism and, when shared, result in other PWD refraining from participating in the mainstream.

Both the segregation of services and ableist discourses in the sport landscape were found to be influenced by competitive sporting events. It is not surprising that prestigious sporting events, which are indulged in media attention, have an impact on perception of how the sport landscape should look like. Indeed, it was found that segregation, which is still found to characterise most competitive events (e.g. Olympics, World Championships, prestigious leagues, etc.), counteracts much of what mainstreaming attempts to achieve by establishing the notion that segregation in competitive sport is the norm. However, there is a positive trend amongst some NGBs and mainstream clubs to incorporate mainstreaming at a competitive level. These NGBs and mainstream clubs often take a hybrid approach towards the organisation of events which sees mainstream and disability-specific sport become ever closer.

Despite mainstreaming policy being more accepted in the sports landscape, one of its limitations became apparent. There seems to be a lack of congruence on the desired outcome of mainstreaming policy. Indeed, the interviews emphasised the debate whether mainstream sport provision can/should do away with segregated services. However, such debate is largely missing

in the relevant literature and in mainstreaming policy itself. There is no formulation of a long-term vision as to what is envisioned as the desired end result of mainstreaming seems to be lacking from mainstreaming policy. It seems useful to open the debate on this topic and for policy makers to provide more clarity on what they attempt to achieve.

Lastly, the interviews provided an interesting alternative, in the form of a hybrid sport club, to how mainstreaming has been approached so far. The hybrid sport club is a merger of a disability-specific sport club and a mainstream one. This would allow to do away with segregated sport provision as the hybrid club has both an extensive offer for PWD and the nondisabled. The hybrid club would address many of the barriers found to negatively impact the principle-practice gap. Therefore, it is a concept that should be explored further and could pose a radical change in the sports landscape.

The next chapter will discuss some of the barriers that PWD face when they attempt to find an inclusive sport opportunity. The chapter focusses on misconceptions in the sports landscape and addresses digital communication as this is the main way of acquiring information when looking for new hobbies.

Chapter 8 Finding Inclusive Sporting Opportunities

> "I do not know how to find out where to do sport" (Violet, PWD-Down-Syndrome)

Data from the interviews indicate that PWD do not necessarily know how or where to find inclusive mainstream sports opportunities as demonstrated by the above quote from Violet. As such, this chapter continues with the journey of PWD who are looking to participate in the mainstream sport sector. Data from the interviews highlighted two underlying issues, first, mainstream clubs are not necessarily considered to be an option and secondly, inclusive sports opportunities are not communicated in an efficient way. The conceptual framework provides here a useful lens to analyse why PWD struggle to find sporting opportunities. Three aspects of the conceptual framework stand out for this analysis, *communicability*, which highlights the lack of communication of inclusive sporting opportunities, *the historical context*, which helps to understand the perspectives that society has of mainstream sport clubs, and *desirability*, which helps to understand the positive or negative attitudes that influence these perceptions.

As such, this chapter will first turn to the discussion on some of the impacts on how the sports sector is perceived. From the interviews, it emerged that the historical context of the sports landscape has an important role in influencing the perceptions of PWD. It seems that the perceptions of PWD have not necessarily caught up with mainstreaming policy and as such impose barriers to participation in mainstream clubs. The chapter will then turn to a discussion on communication. The interviews indicated that communication is an important barrier that helps explain the principle-practice gap. However, while the whole range of communication methods and processes is beyond the scope of this study, data emerging from the interviews showed an emphasis on digital communication. The interviews show that mainstreaming is often underestimated, misunderstood and neglected in digital communication efforts of mainstream sport clubs which results in significant barriers to anyone with a disability looking to participate in mainstream sport clubs.

8.1. Mainstream sport clubs are not considered

Mainstreaming policy aims to include PWD in a nondisabled environment and, as the previous chapter indicates, mainstream sport organisations are becoming more open towards inclusion. However, the interviews show a disconnect between mainstream sport organisations and PWD as they struggle to find sporting opportunities. Demeter from the EFDS explains that one of the

issues is that PWD do not necessarily understand what is already available for them, pointing towards mainstream clubs being an option. Indeed, from the interviews, it emerged that this struggle to find sporting opportunities is partially a consequence of not considering mainstream clubs when looking for sporting opportunities for PWD. Artemis from England Athletics exemplifies this well when she said that:

> "A lot of parents will ring us up and say we cannot find anything locally and when I say there is an athletics club two minutes from your door they will say they did not know it is for disabled people [sic]" (Artemis, England Athletics)

It appears that many parents of children with disabilities, caretakers and PWD themselves do not necessarily consider mainstream sport clubs when looking for sporting opportunities. This is also experienced by some mainstream sport clubs who indicate that they have seen limited interest from PWD or why Bard from an athletics club said that they did not have anyone with a disability approach them in the last five years, despite him considering the club as being accessible. It shows that there is a clear disconnect between mainstream sport clubs, who consider themselves being accessible and willing to include PWD, and those who are looking for sport opportunities for PWD. That mainstream clubs are not always considered for PWD to participate in sport could help explain the principle-practice gap.

The interviews seem to indicate it is historically embedded perceptions of mainstream sport clubs that result in them not being considered. These perceptions of mainstream clubs are not widely discussed in the literature, however, it emerged from the interviews that both the sport clubs and PWD themselves believe that mainstream sport clubs have an image of not being an option for PWD. For example, Caitlyn who is a swim club manager said:

> "The perception of the (mainstream) sport club is that it is not for the disabled. Maybe we need to change our image and try and be more inviting." (Caitlyn, Swim Club)

Echoing Caitlyn is Jacob who has CRPS and said:

> "Mainstream sport club *still* have this image of not being accessible to PWD" (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

Both Caitlyn and Jacob highlight the issue that mainstream sport clubs have an image of not being an option for PWD. Moreover, Jacob specifically highlights that mainstream clubs "still" have an inaccessible image, indicating that such image was established in the past and has not changed since then. Indeed, when looking at the historical context in which sport has developed (see Chapter 3) it becomes apparent that sport for PWD and the nondisabled has developed

separately from each other. Historically, PWD had limited opportunity to participate in organised sport and sport for people with physical disabilities only gained traction after WW II[44] as part of rehabilitation (DePauw and Gavron 2005). Though, it was not until the late 90s that mainstreaming became a key policy priority which saw a more prominent role for NGBs in sport for PWD (Sports Council 1993). However, mainstream sport organisation did not show much desirability to take on disability sports provision and attempted to resist these changes. Moreover, it was not until 2008 that provision of sport for PWD became a mandatory requirement of the NGBs role in the sports landscape (Sport England 2008). Thus, the separated development of sports provision and the resistance of mainstream sport organisation to take on responsibilities for PWD has resulted in a historical perception that mainstream clubs are not an option for PWD. Moreover, PWD used to be turned away when attempting to join mainstream sport. Artemis explained the situation as follows:

> "If someone went to a sports club five years ago, they probably were told that they did not cater for disabled people [sic]… They (PWD) have become used to doing things in the disability world so it is quite a big step to go to your local club. So now it is about changing their understanding of what is available for them as well." (Artemis, England Athletics)

Being turned away would have resulted in negative experiences for PWD. These negative experiences were discussed more fully in the previous chapter. However, it is noteworthy that such negative experiences are powerful in creating and maintaining the current view of mainstream sport clubs not being an option for PWD. This could partially be explained by internalised-ableism. PWD have internalised these historically rooted perceptions and have assumed the status quo of their own exclusion of the nondisabled sport sector in a similar matter as PWD have been observed to assume the status quo of their own exclusion from the marketplace (see Kearney et al. 2017).

The negative perceptions of mainstream sport clubs are further strengthened by some disability charities and organisations who remain uneasy about the mainstream sport sector. This is evidenced by Demeter who explained the negative attitudes many disability organisations hold towards sport and stated:

> "Disability organisations are apprehensive towards sport and they have an idea that it is very oppressive and not very accessible towards PWD" (Demeter, EFDS)

[44]World War II ended in 1945.

As such, it is important that mainstream sport organisations address these perceptions and communicate their openness to PWD better and look for cooperation opportunities with disability organisations. However, Demeter from the EFDS raises a communicability issue when she said:

> "We are not very good at telling people outside (those who do not already participate) about sport. As such, disabled people [sic] might be confused as to where they can go for information." (Demeter, EFDS)

It seems that the sporting landscape is not effectively communicating to PWD that mainstream clubs are welcoming them. This lack of communication on changes in the sporting landscape maintain the image that mainstream clubs are not for the disabled. And while many sport clubs have some members with disabilities[45], the interviews indicate that inclusive opportunities are not advertised or communicated. For example, Taliyah who works for a disability club and has children with disabilities said:

> "They (mainstream clubs) do not market themselves to PWD" (Taliyah)

To address how mainstream clubs are perceived by society and by PWD in specific, it is important to understand how people look for information on sporting opportunities. A report from the ONS indicates that 76% of the adults use the internet to find information about services (ONS 2016a). This is not different for PWD as a research report from the EFDS found that 78% of PWD use the internet to find out about new hobbies and interests (EFDS 2013). Indeed, the interviews conducted for this interview support these findings as PWD described the internet as their main source for finding information. For example, Jacob who said:

> "I Google them (talking about finding sport clubs). That is the usual way of finding them" (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

As such it is safe to assume that most PWD will look online for information and that their first point of contact with a sport club or sport organisation will take place through their website. This emphasises the importance of digital communication in today's society where people no longer "go" online but "are" online. As such, for mainstream sport clubs to change their image and how they are perceived, it is important to address their digital communication. However, it emerged from the interviews that mainstreaming is often misunderstood, neglected and absent

[45] According to a survey conducted at the beginning of this research 64% of sport clubs have at least one member with a disability.

from digital communication of mainstream sport organisations. This is highlighted by Hera from CP sport as follows:

> "One of the things I get with enquiries is that people are quite apprehensive to approach a club if they have a disability, especially a mainstream club. What I have done is looking at club websites in those areas. If you have a disability and you are looking for a club, if you look at their website they have nothing in there." (Hera, CP Sport)

Hera clearly highlights digital communication as a barrier to mainstreaming policy. She explains that there is a lack of including sport for PWD in digital communication. While many sport clubs have stopped turning away PWD and now have members with disabilities, they have not taken the step to include sport for PWD in their digital communication. Additionally, the interviews suggest that there is an issue with the accessibility of digital communication by PWD. As such, the next section will turn to a discussion on digital communication and its implications for the principle-practice gap.

8.2. Digital communication

The first step for anyone wishing to start participating in sport is to collect information on what opportunities currently exist. However, the interviews indicate that PWD are confronted with barriers when searching for such information. Moreover, the interviews emphasised the importance of digital communication and the barriers faced when accessing digital information. As such, this section will concentrate on how sport organisations use digital communication to provide society with information regarding their services.

This section will first address the role of Sport England in relation to digital communications. It addresses to what extent Sport England has incorporated accessibility for digital communication and whether they have incorporated it into their strategy. It is important to start with a discussion on the understanding of what constitutes digital accessibility as it emerged from the interviews that digital accessibility is often misunderstood. Moreover, PWD emphasise that digital communication is not inclusive and experience this as an important barrier to approaching mainstream clubs. This highlights that it is not only necessary for sport clubs to make their digital communication accessible, but to also communicate an inclusive message through such channels. However, it emerged from the interviews that there is a lack of feasibility to create accessible communication. Sport clubs have limited resources to address digital communication and the competence to make this accessible are often lacking.

8.2.1. Sport England and its relation to accessible digital communication policy

While a commentary on digital communication policy can be found in Appendix 9, page 302, it is important to discuss here the role of Sport England. In the sports sector and for sports policy, in particular, Sport England can be seen as being part of the policy-making phase of the policy process. However, as digital accessibility is not a sport-related piece of legislation, Sport England has no influence in its development process. The policy-making phase consists of the EU and UK government (see Appendix 9, page 302). This means that Sport England is part of both policy translation and policy implementation when it comes to accessible digital communication policy. As a public body, Sport England must implement digital accessibility legislation, i.e. make their digital communication accessible. In addition, Sport England is responsible for translating policy for the sports sector. In that role, they are expected to translate general, broadly formulated policy and adapt it to the specific sport context (Harris and Houlihan 2014). This means that Sport England should adopt digital accessibility in its strategy and formulate it in a way that would encourage the sports sector to adopt such policy.

As would be expected, Sport England's new strategy (2016-2021) does make references, although limited, to the digital environment (Sport England 2016). This is a positive change from their previous strategies that did not mention the digital environment at all (Sport England 2008, 2012). Their current strategy recognises the influence of digital communication, especially for younger people. Furthermore, they acknowledge that there is a lack of necessary digital expertise at the moment and are making this a priority. This acknowledgement shows that Sport England as an organisation, but also the grassroots sport sector in general, is having trouble with feasibility as they lack the necessary competence to address digital communication. The conceptual framework highlights that such a lack of competence can provide a barrier to the successful implementation of mainstreaming policy.

However, it seems that Sport England's interest in the digital environment is mainly focussed around bringing bureaucratic processes to the online environment. For example, Athena from Sport England stated that:

> "What we need to start doing is understand how digital innovation can support physical activity and make taking part easier through the use of technology" (Athena, Sport England)

She further explained that this means bringing services to the online environment such as the booking of classes or to register onto competitions. This is supposed to make life easier for most

while not necessarily for PWD as these new digital tools can introduce additional barriers. Moreover, it is about innovation rather than making sure that current digital communication addresses existing accessibility barriers. Secondly, there is an interest of Sport England to bring more sport providers to the digital environment with the aim to increase sports participation. This is indicated in Sport England's strategy which states:

> "We will seek out and back the ideas that can help make sport a mass market activity, including making sport more digitally accessible" (Sport England 2016: 15)

However, no mention or intend is shown to removing digital barriers for PWD. Considering how the how the digital environment is mentioned in Sport England's strategy, the lack of mentioning or intend towards removing digital barriers and the explanation given by a Sport England representative, it seems that the digital strategy has a nondisabled focus. Thus, no intend is made towards making the digital environment more accessible to PWD, nor towards the inclusion of specific information for PWD. This, in turn, could imply the social construct of ableism being prevalent in addressing digital communication in Sport England's strategy. Especially as there seems to be a focus on increasing digital use for nondisabled people, while not addressing current barriers for PWD. This suggests that current policy has a limited influence on digital accessibility. Indeed, Athena from Sport England recognised this limited influence as she describes the influence on digital accessibility as a "best-case" scenario:

> "I know that is a best-case scenario and not always achieved with the person that is creating the websites" (Athena, Sport England).

Sport England's representative agreed that creating more awareness around accessibility does not necessarily translate into more or better digital accessibility. When asked about how they are moving forwards towards digital accessibility, Athena from Sport England referred to the previously mentioned Accessible Communication guide from the EFDS. As such, it seems there will not be any requirements for sport clubs to address digital accessibility. Moreover, Athena said that even the Sport England website needs improvement to be better accessible to PWD highlighting shortcomings at her organisation.

This discussion on the relationship between Sport England and digital communication highlights the barrier that digital communication poses to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Consequently, the digital environment negatively impacts the principle-practise gap. Although the government has created legislation addressing digital accessibility, part of this intent is lost in translation and, policy and strategic documents remain vague about the requirements for

accessibility[46] and make limited mention towards digital communication (see Sport England's strategy and the UK Governance Code). This ambiguity has a negative impact on making digital communication more accessible as it is often neglected and misunderstood when thinking of accessibility. Comparing the watered-down version of accessibility found in the translation and implementation phase to the intent at the policy creation phase points to the existence of the directive distortion problem. Sport England's strategy remains vague and unclear about how diversity and inclusivity are being considered and what importance is given to disability within these concepts. It also remains unclear on how reasonable adjustment will be evaluated and to what extent digital accessibility is expected. More concerning is the lack of attention to digital accessibility within strategic documents as the interviews indicate that it is an important barrier to sports participation of PWD in a nondisabled environment.

This confirms previous findings from Schitai (2009) who found that ableism had a significant impact on the policymaking process and policy implementation in regards to an accessible digital environment. Moreover, just as the findings of Schitai indicated that the policy, with its ableist biases, has not been implemented in practice, there is evidence that this still holds true today where ableist biases are found to be existent in policy and show that the gap between principle and practice still exists. It seems that despite slow progress, policies are still lagging behind the fast pace at which technological innovations are created. Additionally, there is a lack of understanding that current policies would also apply to new and future technologies. The next subsection will take a deeper look at the implementation phase of digital accessibility.

8.2.2. Understanding digital accessibility

The previous subsection indicated a lack of digital communication in strategic documents and policy concerning the sport sector. Yet, when considering national policy, it can be argued that sport organisations should make their websites accessible as part of reasonable adjustment detailed in the EQA 2010 (see Appendix 9, page 302). This means that sport clubs should make their digital communication accessible. However, data emerging from the interviews suggest that there is a lack of understanding of what constitutes accessible digital communication. This lack of understanding is considered a barrier to the successful implementation of mainstreaming policy as it results in digital communication that cannot be accessed by PWD and as such

[46] They adopt the language used by the EQA, stating reasonable adjustments as the requirement without providing more detail.

enhancing the image of mainstream sport clubs as not being an option for PWD. Therefore, the interviews highlight a gap between the governments intend of making digital communication accessible and the action in the field. Moreover, the relation between accessible digital communication and sport organisations is not widely addressed in the literature. As such, this subsection explores how mainstream sport perceives digital accessibility.

The interviews indicate a clear lack of understanding of what constitutes accessible digital communication. Moreover, it seems that various representatives hold different understandings of what makes digital communication accessible, while others had no understanding of what constituted digital accessibility. What follows are some of the responses that representatives of sport clubs gave when asked about the accessibility of their organisations' websites.

Caitlin, a development manager for a swim club and Camille, a secretary of an athletics club, mistook accessibility for findability. When asked about the accessibility Caitlyn said:

> "Finding the website is easy, it is easy to find, I often do Google searches to see where we sit and we are at the top". (Caitlin, Swim Club)

Similarly, Camille also misunderstood accessibility with their website being easy to find through google search and by being featured on the website of other local organisations promoting sport (e.g. the local council). She said:

> "You do the search on UK athletics and we do come up. We are on the local council as well. I would say we are, yeah, I would say we are" (Camille, Athletic Club)

This indicates an ableist understanding of accessibility. Both representatives clearly approach accessibility from a nondisabled perspective. They consider what is important for them to be able to access the website. In this case, being able to find the website easily through the use of Google or other local organisations promoting their website, without thoughts whether it would allow PWD to use them.

A different understanding was expressed by Darius, who is in charge of the website of a triathlon club. He struggled with understanding accessibility as well. He explained accessibility of their website as:

> "It follows responsive guidelines, so I imagine it is accessible. I think because it is responsive, it fits on a mobile phone, a tablet, widescreen, whatever" (Darius, Athletics)

He considers responsiveness, the ability of a website to work on a variety of devices (e.g. phones, tablets, laptops), as accessibility. Similarly to Caitlyn and Camille, Darius does not approach accessibility from the perspective of PWD but from his own nondisabled perspective.

Ashe, a chair of an athletics club, went a step further and said that websites are becoming obsolete and that they were moving more towards social media (i.e. Facebook). Their Facebook page is being used as a marketing tool and as a way to inform their members. He seems to misunderstand the accessibility of Facebook. He assumes because the club page is on Facebook, it is accessible. While Facebook does take action to make their service accessible (Facebook 2017a, 2017b), there are other parts of accessibility to take into account. In their inclusive communication guide, the EFDS warns of barriers incorporated in the use of social media and emphasises that not all groups of the public are necessarily using Facebook:

> "Please remember that social media has barriers too. Certain age groups (particularly younger and older age groups), as well as people with a learning disability, may not be active social media communicators" (EFDS 2014a)

The way these committee members of sport clubs think about accessibility shows the impact ableism has. They approach accessibility from their nondisabled perspective and are concerned about findability, responsiveness and being on social media. While these are important aspects of running any website, these are not addressing digital accessibility for PWD. It is clear that these committee members of sport clubs do not consider PWD when they develop their club website. In addition to the perseverance of ableist perceptions, these examples show the lack of competence in the sporting landscape to address digital accessibility.

More troublingly, there also seems to be a lack of understanding digital accessibility by professional web designers. Even when accessibility was part of the brief and requirements for the website, a web designer managed to create a un-accessible website. Luckily for the organisation in question, they had it independently tested by the EFDS. Demeter explained the story and said:

> **"**We had an operator come to us around three months ago, they have spent thousands and thousands of pounds getting a website designed. Part of the brief was that it had to be inclusive and then when we tested it, it was not at all. They went back to the web designer and explained this and they denied all knowledge and understanding about what they were talking about. You assume web designers know what they are doing but some of the time they do not." (Demeter, EFDS).

These quotes highlight issues around feasibility and ableism in particular. There is a clear lack of knowledge of basic concepts that make digital communication inclusive. The main reason for this is that people consider accessibility from their normative perspective rather than to think about what people with disability would need with respect to accessibility. Moreover, it seems that besides a lack of knowledge of what accessibility means for PWD, there is an additional lack of skills required for creating inclusive digital spaces within both the amateur and professional context of web design. Moreover, the example from the EFDS shows the pervasiveness of ableism within wider society as it shows that even field experts lack in competence and desirability. These findings are supported by Lazar et al. (2004) who reported a lack of competence and objections to accessibility amongst webmasters in addition to a lack of client interest. Such objections and lack of interest support the notion of ableism in web design. Considering the lack of competence amongst professional web designers, there is a need for independent, expert review for organisations that take accessible digital communication seriously.

From the interviews, it also emerged that there are many actors in the sports sector that have no idea, compared to the misunderstanding previously discussed, as to what constitutes accessibility in relation to digital communication. What most sport clubs did agree on after discussing what digital accessibility entails, was that there were problems with the accessibility of their websites. Most representatives were very critical of their websites and regarded them as being "rubbish" and not very accessible. For example, Braum and Quinn who said:

> "Nah, ours is rubbish, but we know that. It does need to be better from an accessible point of view" (Braum, Athletics)
> "No, the club website is not very accessible, I am afraid" (Quinn, Athletics)

Considering that there were many actors who did not know what digital accessibility meant or had a wrong perception of it, it is not surprising that there were some sport clubs who said they had no idea at all about the current accessibility state of their website. For example, Sivir from a swim club who said that he had no idea about the current state of the club webpage. This again highlights the lack of understanding of accessibility and the prevalence of ableism as it has never occurred to them that their website could have barriers for PWD.

Digital accessibility is not a problem unique to the mainstream sport clubs. Taliyah, the secretary of a disability swim club which states that it caters for all disabilities, describes the website of her sport club as partially accessible. She said the website would cater for some disabilities (i.e.

people with learning disabilities), but no thought has been given to make it accessible to other impairments. As a result, their website is tailored to people with learning disabilities but does not prove accessible to people with visual impairments for example as shown during the interview:

> "Probably not for the visually impaired. We have not gone to that length… information on there is in quite short sentences. There is not much that you can get confused on (this is tailored to people with learning disabilities)" (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

This focus on learning disabilities stems from the desirability of the club. They choose to have a focus on learning disabilities, while perhaps unknowingly, neglecting other disabilities. Such desirability conforms with previous research which shows that whilst PWD view other PWD as part of their in-group, due to the heterogeneity of impairment, they self-categorise on other traits such as impairment when only amongst PWD (Deal 2003). Moreover, both nondisabled people and PWD hold different strengths of different attitudes towards different impairments (Deal 2003). This divide and self-categorising are shown here, where a disability-specific sport club, which says is catering for all disabilities, is solely focussing on one segment of PWD, in this case, people with learning impairments, without regards for other impairment groups. Additionally, this can be linked to notions of internalised ableism in that mixing with other people with impairments is interpreted as a negative choice (Campbell 2009). Furthermore, around 75% of PWD have more than one impairment (Sport England 2017a). As for the example given above by Taliyah, learning disabilities and visual impairments show great overlap, something that the disability sport club overlooked when developing their digital communication. What this shows is the complexity of disability while also showing the lack of knowledge in the wider society of disability, even of those working in disability sport. Moreover, it shows the need to further advance disability literacy and digital accessibility to change the perception that sport clubs, in general, are welcoming to PWD with different impairment.

The website of Olaf's swim club, which is a hybrid sport club, is a second example of having a partial focus on accessibility. Despite Olaf being proud of their website, it shows a clear focus on catering for visual impairments, while neglecting others.

> "Yeah, a lot of people start there, I know it is good for communicating with people. Have you seen ours? It is all purple and orange and you can see there is an inclusion part to it - I think it is good. My friends who are visually impaired can use it, it is bold." (Olaf, Swimming)

However, it does seem that they have put a lot more thought into accessibility and inclusion. They recognised the importance of digital communication, included a clear inclusion section (stands out amongst the rest as it is written in orange) and had their website tested by friends with a visual impairment.

The general lack of digital accessibility is also experienced by PWD. Lily, who is a sports enthusiast with a visual impairment, experiences difficulties with digital accessibility on a daily base. This clearly shows the impact that ableism and the resulting lack of digital accessibility have on her life. Because there is a lack of considering PWD she must rely on other people to help her in accessing digital information. However, as she works with the Royal National Institute of Blind People (RNIB), she receives a lot of support from her co-workers and is familiar with formal services in place that offer support. Other people with visual impairments, who would not have the same connections would likely struggle far more as a quote from Lily shows:

> "Not always. They are not all accessible, but I have enough support in place that it is not too much of a problem" (Lily, PWD)

This subsection established the poor accessibility state of sport club websites. Many of the sport organisations interviewed expressed the lack of digital accessibility while few argued that they were partially accessible to certain impairment groups. From the interviews, it emerged that a lack of competence and understanding in what constitutes digital accessibility proves a barrier to sports participation of PWD. This is closely linked to the notion of ableism, as it was found that most interviewees approach accessibility from their nondisabled perspective while not considering what barriers it may impose on PWD. Moreover, research indicates that many problems experienced by PWD in regards to digital accessibility are also experienced by the nondisabled when trying to access the same information (Petrie and Kheir 2007, Power et al. 2012). Furthermore, the lack of accessible websites are widespread and not unique to the sport sector with, on average in the EU, only 5% of public websites comply fully with web accessibility standards, though more are partially accessible (European Commission 2010). As such, accessible websites are scarce and it seems a major challenge to change this. This highlights the need for support, training and awareness raising. As such, it is particularly important to address digital accessibility as it will not only create more equality in the sports landscape but could also prove effective in communicating to the nondisabled. While this subsection mainly focussed on technical aspects of digital accessibility, it emerged from the interviews inclusivity is not embedded in the message itself. The next subsection looks beyond the technical accessibility and moves the focus to the inclusive message.

8.2.3. More than technical compliance: making the message inclusive

What the previous discussion shows, is a focus of accessibility on the technical aspects of digital communication. However, the interviews show that accessibility is more than checking the boxes of WCAG 2.0. Technical aspects and the design of websites are only one aspect of making digital communication more inclusive and accessible. While such technical accessibility of digital communication is widely discussed in the literature, albeit not in relation to the sports sector (Friedman and Bryen 2007, Harper and Yasilada 2008, Paciello 2000, Power et al. 2012, Rutter et al. 2007), making the message inclusive is often lacking from such literature. This is important as from the interviews it emerged that PWD expect more than a technical accessible website, they expect inclusive language, pictures and, perhaps even more important, to find accessibility information of the venue and services provided. They look for information on whether there exist any physical barriers that might hamper access or use of the facilities and services, and which services can be provided to PWD to facilitate access and use of the facilities and services provided. This focus on practical aspects of accessibility emerged during the interviews with PWD when they were asked about their expectations of an accessible website. Most were thinking in practical terms on what kind of information would be inviting and give them an inclusive feeling. Moreover, the absence of such an inclusive message is found to be a barrier to inclusive sports participation and establishes the image of mainstream sport being solely for the nondisabled.

While all the PWD interviewed were suggesting practical aspects, for example “if it is accessible for wheelchairs and stuff” (Daisy, PWD-Amputee) and “they should let people know who they can and cannot cater for” (Nigella, PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis), Jacob, in particular, was very passionate about what he thinks should be included in digital communication. Being this passionate, he was in absolute disbelief that organisations would not use accessibility information as a positive selling point. He explained his expectations and experience and said:

> “Just simple accessibility, is there a lift there? You never ever say that in anything though… I want to know if there is a lift. I do not want to know that there is a pool. I know that there is a pool. I want to know if I can get to the pool you know. Is there a ramp? Is there a hoist? Is there access into the pool? … That is what I want to know about and they do not put it in there… I did tell them, they still have not put on it the website though, but that is their loss… Why not? It is a selling point, but people forget about that.” (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

Passionate as Jacob is, he confronted the manager of a sports organisation, asking to include their accessibility features on their website “I did tell them, I spoke with him face to face”.

However, the manager showed little interest and nothing around their inclusive facilities have been included on their website "they still have not put it on the website". This shows a lack of desirability to include more information that might attract PWD. Additionally, it suggests the perseverance of ableism as the organisation did not want to change their normative message by including more information for PWD.

Besides information on the accessibility of the facility and services provided, there was a consensus from PWD, national sport organisations (NSO) and local sport clubs to be more direct around disability. There is no need to "tip-toe" around disability anymore and websites should make bolder statements that they do welcome everyone. The interviewees showed this desire to be more direct in various ways:

> "Let people know who they can and cannot cater for" (Nigella, PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis)
> "Information on whether they accept disabled people [sic]" (Daisy, PWD-CP)
> "You do not need to be so sensitive around it, I do not think" (Taliyah, Swim Club)
> "Just making people more aware that they do welcome everybody but without making it patronising" (Hera, CP Sport)
> "Be more open in showing that it is a club for everyone" (Demeter, EFDS)

However, reality still shows a focus of organisations on the nondisabled in the development and design of their websites. This shows the prevalence of ableism in society, where PWD are still not considered when sport organisations engage in digital communication, in this case during the development and design of websites. Moreover, this sole focus of organisations on the nondisabled is experienced by some as discriminatory. For example, Nigella (PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis) who was very direct and said: "they are more focused on the able-bodied [sic] and that is discrimination".

As mentioned before, both the Government and the EFDS provide a guide that addresses the more practical side of accessibility. Comparable to the technical implementation of accessibility, the interviews show that it is mainly the bigger national sport organisations that have considered the language they use and the addition of a disability section with further information on accessibility. Both NGBs included in this study, for example, have a dedicated disability section to their website. However, most of the smaller sport organisations, the sport clubs, have not considered the practical side of accessibility and had no disability-specific section or information included for PWD. For example, Camille and Riven who said:

> "Honestly, no. No, it is standard, generic. No, there is not anything there. No." (Camille, Athletics Club)
> "I cannot recall anything that relates to disability swimming" (Riven, Swim Club)

Most sport clubs recognised the need for more inclusive statements in their digital communication. For example, Braum showed this desire towards more inclusivity saying, "we need to put more information up there to illustrate what we do as a club and that we are open for them (referring to PWD)" (Braum, Athletics Club). However, one representative, in particular, was very defensive and showed ableist attitudes and a lack of desirability in her response saying:

> "There is no sort of disability distinction, at the end of the day we are not a disability swimming club and I think that is what we have to bear in mind." (Caitlyn, Swimming)

She clearly embraced the normative character of the club and dismissed the idea that the club should be more inclusive. By doing so, she is showing ableist attitudes as she does not want to consider PWD. Furthermore, she is of the opinion that providing additional accessibility information is not necessary for a club that focusses on the nondisabled. This response was surprising, as they have a coach with an impairment in the club. The coach was approached to participate in this research, however, he decided not to do so.

These interviews highlight that there is, for the most part, consensus from both sport clubs, national sport organisations and PWD to be more direct in their digital communications towards PWD. One method that has been proposed during the interviews to achieve this, is to include more pictures of PWD. The EFDS argues in their guidelines for the need to include pictures of PWD and this was further emphasised during the interview with Demeter as well. Moreover, the EFDS can provide stock images for any sport club to use. Demeter summarises the need for more pictures of PWD as follows:

> "It comes down to simple things like having posters that have disabled people [sic] on as well... Pictures can mean more than language. You can look at those and take so much. You will go along to a session based only on photos." (Demeter, EFDS)

One of the reasons highlighted, that make the use of pictures so successful is that words are tricky. The interviews showed discussions between those who want to state explicitly that PWD are welcome, while others think this is segregating (EFDS, Kino, Jacob, Tansy, Violet, Naomi). In addition, there is a debate on which wording would be fit for purpose (e.g. all abilities, all PWD, all are welcome). Pictures, on the other hand, provide a simple way to communicate that a club is inclusive. Furthermore, pictures have successfully been used in advertising for years and

literature has discussed the positive impact of using pictures in communication (Lester 2013, Messaris 1997) and more specific, the positive impact in relation to PWD (Stephenson and Linfoot 1996).

PWD seemed very positive to the idea of including more pictures and agreed with the perspective of the EFDS. They agreed that featuring pictures of PWD in digital communication would create a more inclusive feeling and would encourage PWD to approach these clubs.

> "If you offer that facility then pictures would encourage PWD" (Jacob, PWD)
> "I think so. It would be nice to have pictures of people like me" (Violet, PWD)
> "I think people that are advertising should put pictures up … not everyone will take it in but they will take more notice of it. It is just about selling themselves, to be honest, making it more visible." (Nigella, PWD)

A second way of addressing accessibility is the development of an "access statement". Collating the expectations covered in the interviews, an access statement is a section that should provide all the necessary information for PWD interested in a sport club. It allows PWD to assess in advance how accessible a sport club is for their unique situation. Rather than a judgement, i.e. the self-assessment that a sport club is accessible or not, it provides with the facts people with disability need in order to make that judgement for themselves. It can positively influence their decision to visit a sport club by showing their intent to be inclusive. A good access statement should be easy to find on a club's website. This would help with making PWD aware that they are welcome and show the inclusivity of the organisation. Moreover, it could help the sport sector in communicating their commitment to mainstreaming. Sadly, such access statements are still unusual in the sports sector. However, there has been positive movement in this regard with sports stadia and the Premier League[47].

A disability access statement was introduced as part of the "Accessible Stadia" guideline published in 2003 (Football Stadia Improvement Fund and Football Licensing Authority 2003) and renewed in 2015 as part of the "Accessible Stadia Supplementary Guidance" (Sports Grounds Safety Authority 2015). This recommends that all stadia should make a priority of publishing such an access statement on their website. It emphasises a philosophy and approach to inclusive design. Creating an accessible statement is a low cost but effective way of attempting to make their venues as accessible as possible for PWD[48].

[47] First division of football (soccer) in the UK
[48] Enforcement falls under "reasonable adjustments" as required by the EQA 2010

In 2015 all 20 Premier League clubs pledged to meet the accessible stadia guidelines by 2017 (Level Playing Field 2015). As a result of this pledge, the Premier League decided in 2016 to include parts of this guideline, e.g. publishing a disability access statement, in their Premier League Handbook 2016/17 (Section R2), which states that: "Each Club shall devise, document and publish: … a disability access statement" (The Football Association Premier League Limited 2016). Thus, having a disability access statement has become a mandatory requirement of any club playing in the Premier League. However, not all clubs see this as a priority and have little desire to create such a statement. An enquiry of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2017: 21) showed that there are still seven out of the 20 Premier League clubs that are in breach with the Premier League Handbook in this respect.

This example shows two things. First, it shows the ableist attitudes amongst some Premier League Clubs as they have little desire to invest time and resources in creating such an access statement and it shows that some clubs see PWD as a low priority when considering their target market. Secondly, the lack of conformance is troubling as it highlights the difficulties of enforcement. If there is trouble with conformance from high profile professional football clubs, it can only be expected to be even more difficult for grassroots sport clubs. However, there is an opportunity to make an access statement part of the UK Governance Code or make it mandatory under club mark accreditation. This would create some framework that could successfully influence sport clubs to adopt an access statement.

What these examples and interviews show is that the practical aspect of accessibility is important to PWD but often missing in digital communication. Moreover, this aspect of accessibility is missing from legislation and Sport England's strategy. While it is good to strive towards more technically accessible digital communication, if they do not communicate an inclusive message with accessibility information, most of the inclusive intent is lost. Moreover, it seems that the digital environment is not being considered by sport organisations when they self-identify as being accessible. The survey conducted at the beginning of this study showed that 87% of sport clubs self-identified as being accessible. However, during the interviews, it became clear that most sport clubs did not consider digital accessibility. This shows again the lack of knowledge of accessibility amongst sport organisations while also emphasising the barrier digital communication poses to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Furthermore, it establishes the image that mainstream sport is not for PWD.

This discussion highlights the gap between how the government intends to address inclusive digital communication (i.e. striving for more technical accessibility) and what their target audience, PWD, expect from accessibility (i.e. more information). In addition, whereas the EFDS promotes inclusive language, pictures featuring PWD and a disability section, none of this finds its way down to the sport clubs, who are not in direct contact with the EFDS. This points to the directive distortion problem as the information provided and communicated through the EFDS does not find its way to the grassroots implementers. The reality of the directive-distortion problem is also experienced by the sport clubs themselves as shown by Taliyah:

> "A directive at the top will have to get through a lot of stages … how well it gets from top to translation at the bottom depends on how it is filtered in between. 100% at the top and you are lucky to get 5-10% at the bottom." (Taliyah, Swimming)

To some extent, the directive-distortion problem explains the lack of understanding digital accessibility. However, despite this lack of understanding of digital accessibility and sport clubs thinking their websites do a bad job at being accessible, they showed a certain willingness to do better. There were some who showed an interest during the interviews to make their website more accessible and inclusive in the future. This indicates there is a certain positive desirability to do better and to think more about accessibility and inclusivity in the future. For example, Braum and Shaco who showed their desire to make their sport club's website more accessible in the future:

> "I want to make sure there is more attention to accessibility. I have not seen the plans for it yet (the new website), it is currently with a colleague of mine. But I would personally make sure that it is. I am sure that both the coaches (who are coaching PWD) are sitting in the committee right now, both of them are vice chairs, so they will also ensure that it is" (Braum, Athletics Club)
> "I can suggest that (accessibility) to the webmaster and see. I think he would be quite interested in the idea" (Shaco, Athletics Club)

However, there were also indications of ableism in the committees of sport clubs where some members are considered to show resistance to more inclusivity. This became obvious during the interview with Shaco, who said that "one or two would not" be interested in using pictures of PWD to create a more inclusive website. Despite these ableist attitudes of some committee members, the general attitudes during the interviews showed a positive desirability towards more inclusive digital communication. This is a positive trend and should be further encouraged and supported.

8.2.4. Limited resources for digital communication

From the interviews it emerged that the organisational structure of sport clubs in the UK, which the conceptual framework links to the general environment, prove to be a barrier to the implementation of digital accessibility. Grassroots sport clubs in the UK are mainly run by volunteers and it is often these volunteers who are responsible for the digital communication, including the creation of the club website. These volunteers lack the skills and knowledge to build an inclusive website. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the management of sport clubs also have a lack of understanding of digital accessibility. This highlights big issues with the feasibility of digital accessibility for sport clubs. Being a volunteer-based organisation brings up a couple of different issues in regard to building an accessible digital environment. Artemis highlights the cultural influence of sport clubs relying on volunteers as an important factor:

> "It is having the knowledge and expertise, they are probably being set up by volunteers who have very good will but do not come from a web development background... I think in most sport clubs there is a volunteer that has a friend who has some knowledge of websites" (Artemis, England Athletics)

As mentioned, these volunteers lack the knowledge and skills to make digital communication accessible. Sometimes volunteers are older and less familiar with the fast-developing digital environment (Demeter, EFDS). Issues with the feasibility were also highlighted by the NGBs and the sport clubs themselves. Most sport clubs were reliant on either their volunteers or the friends and family of their volunteers to help with their digital environment. The reliance on inexperienced volunteers is exemplified by Ashe. Ashe had to teach himself coding to get a website up and running for his sport club. This proved to be a difficult undertaking for him as he had limited time and experience as he explained:

> "I run the website. I have had to teach myself coding in a very short space of time, which has been a nightmare" (Ashe, Athletics Club)

A second issue highlighted by some sport clubs is the affordability of digital communication. One of the main reasons of having volunteers take care of the digital communication comes down the cost of employing a professional web-designer. Sport clubs, which usually work on a charity, non-profit base have limited funds. In addition, there is a lack of funding available that sport clubs could apply for that would cover the costs of developing digital environments. As a result, most digital communication from sport clubs is very basic and lacking in accessibility. The lack of funding and its impact is clearly described by Ashe:

> "Everything on our webpage is basic. That comes down to cost and funding. We would love to employ a website designer that would have HTML and videos and photos and everything on there, but our website is mainly just for information" (Ashe, Athletics Club)

A representative from England Athletics did find the whole system inefficient. There are 151.000 sport clubs in the UK, most of which have a digital platform. Because they are volunteer-led and have limited resources they would probably not be coding their website themselves but use a plethora of online publishing platforms (e.g. WordPress). Without guidance on which platforms provide the technical aspects of digital accessibility, it is hard to make an educated choice. This results in very different experiences when coming across digital communication of various sport clubs. Both the researcher and representatives from the NGBs posed the question whether a general digital platform and template could be created for sport clubs to use. This would help with accessibility as a platform which incorporates the technical aspects of accessibility could be used. Additionally, it would provide sport clubs with a low-cost option making it more affordable. Moreover, this could be paired with guidance and expertise from a central organisation, which allows room to address the more practical side of accessibility. The difficulty lays in that sport clubs are their own organisation which makes it difficult to persuade them in doing so (Artemis, England Athletics).

In addition to the lack of knowledge and skills that volunteers bring to the digital environment, it must be noted that volunteering in the sport sector has been under pressure and the recruitment of volunteers is seen as a challenge by 42% of clubs (Sport and Recreation Alliance 2013). This is also highlighted by Sport England, who created a new volunteering strategy (Athena, Sport England). This further puts pressure on the affordability and feasibility of the sport clubs causing a barrier to the adoption of mainstreaming policy in that they lack the resources and competence to do so.

8.3. Searchable sport club database

> "My daughter wanted to try powerchair hockey… she looked online and could not find anything about it anywhere" (Taliyah, Disability Swim Club)

Part of digital communications and one of the difficulties PWD face is finding inclusive sports organisations, as shown in the quote above. The previous section highlighted the use of Google in finding information, and while it is a very useful tool, it is not always ideal to find accessible sport clubs. A designated website which is tailored to the needs of PWD that helps them in finding a sport or sport club would be a helpful tool. As such, this section discusses the idea of a

searchable sport club database. The development of these databases is a strategic output from mainstreaming policy and should provide two functions. It should provide users with the opportunity to fill out their postcode, which results in a list of inclusive sport clubs in their area (displayed in list or map form). Secondly, it would be informative if PWD could select their impairment and receive more information on sports opportunities relevant to them.

All respondents agreed that having a designated website to find inclusive sport clubs and more information on inclusive sports is a great idea. They agreed that this website would fill a gap and overcome some of the barriers to finding a suitable sport club. Furthermore, it would help inform PWD of sporting opportunities. Daisy and Nigella show how important such a website is for them and show great enthusiasm for the concept of a searchable database. They said:

> "This kind of site is very helpful for people" (Daisy, PWD-CP)
> "Both of it is a good idea, it is good for local people and people trying to find a new sport" (Nigella, PWD- Harlequin Ichthyosis)

The concept of a searchable (inclusive) sport club database is not new. However, looking at the general environment, the sports sector is fragmented with a multitude of different websites characterised by a lack of communication. These websites are mainly found at the local level of CSPs, as most of them have a sports finder tool on their website under the "Get Active" brand. However, not all CSPs included this tool on their website and the functionality of the tool itself shows a lack of uniformity. Some allow users to search for disability sports, while others allow searching for disability sport clubs. Just like there is a lack of uniformity in sport club websites, there is a lack of uniformity amongst these sports finder tools. As such, the suggestion of creating a common template, previously discussed in relation to making digital communication accessible, would be beneficial in this context as well. Other examples of searchable sport club databases are created by national sports organisations such as Disability Sport Wales, the EFDS and the British Paralympic Association (BPA), who have their own searchable sport club database with each their limitations.

The initiative from the EFDS is the *IFI Mark* which is linked to an inclusive fitness finder tool which automatically includes centres that acquired their accreditation (EFDS 2017). The IFI Mark[49] assesses fitness centres on five areas: fitness equipment, staff training, marketing and engagement, sports development and accessible facilities. Additionally, accredited fitness

[49] The accreditation comes in three levels, provisional, registered and excellent.

centres are to be reassessed every three years to assure quality. The IFI Mark can be viewed as good practice and exemplary for the mainstream sport sector. However, the project stopped being funded from 2014 onwards[50] and saw its accreditation drop from over 400 gyms[51] to 37 at the moment (Tyche, EFDS). This has rendered the inclusive fitness finder tool rather obsolete and shows the impact that short term funding cycles have on sport development and the users of such tools. Similarly, Tyche from the EFDS agreed that the IFI-Mark linked to an inclusive database could be viewed as a successful testcase for other mainstream sports[52]. However, she emphasised the complexity, considerable cost and need for resources to be constraining.

The initiative of the BPA is a *Parasport database* which provides information on "inclusive" mainstream clubs for the whole of Britain. The Deloitte Parasport website was launched in 2007 and is a web-based signposting tool aimed at PWD who are interested in participating in sport and aims to encourage more PWD to take up sport. The Parasport website works towards this goal in two distinct ways. Firstly, Parasport acts as the Yellow Pages for disability sport through a Sports Club Finder tool. This tool enables people to type in their postcode resulting in a list of "accessible" clubs in their area. Secondly, it provides a "sports finder" tool which allows users to select their impairment resulting in a list of sports that are playable for the impairment type. Neither the BPA nor Deloitte was available to comment and provide extra data on the website.

The plethora of different searchable sport club databases raises questions in relation to communicability. From the interviews, it emerged that most respondents had not heard of any of the searchable databases. Moreover, they did not know about the existence of sport finder tools. This is similar to the directive-distortion problem as the information on the existence of such databases does not reach the intended audience. However, all of the PWD interviewed were enthusiastic about using a sport club database. Lily and Violet agreed that one uniform database should be created that other organisations can use for their regional purposes. They expressed their enthusiasm for a uniform database and said:

> "Yeah, that would be good, yeah." (Lily, PWD-Blind)
> "Think it is a good idea, might be able to do all sorts of things and get more people into doing them. (Violet, PWD-Down-Syndrome)

[50] IFI Mark is now being embedded within the Quest framework (see https://questnbs.org for more information). However, the IFI Mark is an optional module within this framework.
[51] With currently 6.435 fitness centres in the UK (ukactive 2016), only about 6% has achieved IFI Mark accreditation during the course of the project.
[52] The IFI Mark was not intended as a test case and was a project in its own right.

With the enthusiastic responses to the idea of a sport club database and a call for a uniform database, it was deemed useful here to examine one of the biggest sport club databases that focusses on inclusive clubs, the Parasport website from the BPA. In addition, it was marketed heavily during the London 2012 Paralympic Games which was considered to be a huge success (BPA 2017a). As such, this particular database is further analysed in the next two subsections.

8.3.1. Parasport.co.uk

The Parasport website was considered a huge success during the London 2012 Paralympic Games as visits to its website increased by 2000% (BPA 2017a). In 2013, this had normalised to 85% more visitors compared to before the 2012 Paralympics, equating to approximately 8.000 unique visitors a month (BPA 2017a). While these numbers seem impressive, not much has been reported since. Furthermore, any attempt at contacting Parasport was unsuccessful. Nearly five years after the 2012 Paralympic Games, most people interviewed, including representatives of sport clubs, NDSOs and PWD themselves, had not heard of the parasport website. As such, it seems there is an issue of communicability.

The story of Jacob illustrates the potential positive impact that such a website can have on the lives of PWD. Jacob recalled the Parasport website immediately. He explained that he found the Parasport website through a Google search when looking for sports to play "I Googled, 'Disability Sports', and it came up." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS). This highlights the incidental nature of stumbling on the website, rather than being aware of it through communication. Furthermore, Jacob was able to explain the functionality of the website in detail and how he used the website himself. He explained how he used the website to find a sport club and said:

> "It is all right actually. You can go on there and type in the sport you want to play and it tells you where your local teams are … they give you a list of the different types of sports as well. Like I discovered boccia, I did not even know what it was. Never played it but I discovered and found it quite interesting." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

He continued with explaining the importance of a website like the Parasport one:

> "…so it is a really good directory actually… There is loads (talking about different sports), like that is where you learn what is out there, what is available, on that website." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

Jacob highlights that such a sport club directory can be an easy resource to find out about different sports that can be played by PWD, perhaps even sports that were never considered before or sports they were not even aware they existed. Perhaps the most profound way of

Jacob expressing the importance of such a sport club database, was by him adding a widget[53] to his personal blog, which follows his life as a person with disabilities.

The fact that Jacob was the only PWD to hear from this website and the accidental nature of him stumbling upon the website indicate a lack of communication and awareness raising of the website. Furthermore, it emerged from the interviews that none of the representatives of the sport clubs had heard of the Parasport website. When asked if they knew about the existence of the Parasport website, all representatives answered negative. The answers ranged from a simple "no" (Bard, Camille, Caitlyn, Ashe, Lucian, Shaco, Sivir, Riven, representatives of Swim and Athletics clubs) to pointing out that they never received any information on the website "No, I do not think we had any information to direct us to it" (Braum, Athletics). This again highlights the issue of communicability in the sport landscape, while various tools and materials are developed to support mainstreaming, the lack of communication and the directive-distortion problem result in many actors of the sport landscape being in the dark about these. Furthermore, the Parasport website is set up in such a way that it requires sports clubs to approach the website and fill out a form to become part of the directory, in opposite to the IFI Mark that has an automatic system in place. This would require sport clubs to know about its existence, which the interviews showed is an issue. This communication issue or lack of awareness is nicely summarised by Braum:

> "I keep going back to the word awareness but it is so apparent that unless people come and approach us, then we probably would not know about mainstreaming or such websites" (Braum, Athletics Club)

It becomes apparent that, just like PWD, the sport clubs are not in the know about the existence of the Parasport website. As the sport clubs did not know about the Parasport website, an explanation of its purpose and functionality was necessary. After this explanation, all sport clubs showed a clear interest in the website. Moreover, most showed an interest in signing up to the directory of the Parasport website. This shows the potential that a sports directory could have. Some of the representatives said:

> "Ok, I be interested in it. I am going to have a look at it." (Braum, Athletics)
> "I will have a look if the sport club has signed up tonight." (Olaf, Swimming)

[53] Embeddable widgets allow external websites to use certain feature of a website. For example, in the case of the parasport website, external websites can use features such as the find a club.

> "That is good. That sounds really interesting actually. I will definitely have a look at that." (Camille, Athletics Club)

Besides a communication issue, in that sport clubs need to be aware of the Parasport website, it emerged from the interviews that sport clubs are concerned about the feasibility of having to sign up to the website themselves. Having to approach the Parasport website and sign up themselves was met with some resistance from the sport clubs as it would require extra bureaucracy and time commitment for a mainly volunteer let organisation. They were quick to suggest an alternative, in which the national governing bodies take up a bigger role. For example, Bard:

> "Yeah, would it not be more beneficial if governing bodies contacted sports clubs and asked them?" (Bard, Athletics Club)

After exploring further, most sport clubs were positive to the idea that the governing bodies should take more responsibility and not only "ask" the sport clubs but sign them up automatically. They explained that the NGBs already collect information on the sport clubs and that they could take this a step further. This would suggest that the NGBs would collect data on accessibility features and share this information with a sport club database.

> "I suppose the ASA would be better as they would have the database rather than every single sports club trying to remember it." (Olaf, Swim Club)

Considering the voluntary sign up process and that none of the sport clubs have heard of the Parasport website, a question was raised about the current state of the website. More precisely on the size of the sport club directory, which the website needs to operate. Looking at the current state of the database, the Parasport directory has registered over 3.000 clubs[54] over a ten year period, since its launch in 2007 (BPA 2017a). While this might look impressive at first, knowing there are 151.000 sport clubs in the UK (Sport and Recreation Alliance 2013), less than 2% of UK sport clubs are registered with the Parasport website. Considering the Survey conducted at the beginning of this study, which found that around 87% of the sport clubs self-identified as being accessible, there is a big disparity between sport clubs who are considered to be accessible and the number of sport clubs that are part of the Parasport database. Additionally, considering the number of sport clubs in the UK and the percentage of which considers themselves as being accessible, there is a huge potential for a sport club database. However, these numbers also show the limitations of the current workings of the Parasport

[54] A search without any criteria on the Parasport website returned with 2.711 sport clubs.

website, which relies on voluntary subscriptions of sport clubs who are often unaware of its existence. Moreover, voluntary subscription could mean that there is a lack of quality control, i.e. whether sport clubs are indeed accessible. This could be problematic as this research shows that sport clubs often self-identify as being accessible while at the same time misinterpret what accessibility means (see page 155-160). Furthermore, it emerged from the interviews that the BPA has some barriers to finding sport opportunities for PWD that are inherent to the BPA as an organisation. As such, the next subsection will turn to the discussion of these intrinsic barriers.

8.3.2. Barriers inherent to the British Paralympic Association

To be able to discuss barriers inherent to the BPA, it is important to understand the organisational structure and the desirability of the BPA better. The British Paralympic Association is the National Paralympic Committee (NPC) for Great Britain and Northern Ireland. As such, it is responsible to select, prepare, enter, fund and manage athletes who are part of the Paralympic team, known as Paralympics GB (BPA 2016). As the BPA enjoys a charitable status it has formulated charitable objectives in addition to its role previously described. The BPA states in its charitable objectives that it should facilitate "participation in sporting activities" (BPA 2012: 6). It is this charitable status and its corresponding objective that translated into the creation of the Parasport website in the run-up to the 2012 Paralympics Games.

The importance of the website was highlighted in the BPA strategic document, Maximising Momentum 2012-2017, which has a focus on creating a legacy from the London Games. In this report, the development of the Parasport website is mentioned under their strategic priorities. More specifically, it comes under strategic priority two, "to support the development of disability sports opportunities across the UK" (BPA 2012: 22). However, the newest strategic document from the BPA, Inspiring Excellence 2016-2021, only briefly mentions the Parasport website in its introduction by stating it will "continue to support the Get Set schools platform and Deloitte Parasport website" (BPA 2012: 1). Moreover, the latest strategy shows a change in motivation with a focus away from sports participation and more towards its Paralympic objectives, i.e. elite performance. This raises questions about the future of the Parasport website and whether the BPA is the right organisation to support it.

This focus on elite performance is embedded in the BPA's vision and mission statements. The vision, "Through sport, inspire a better world for disabled people [sic]" (BPA 2016: 10), emphasising that this is done through the impact of elite athletes on the field. The mission statement of the BPA reads as the following, "To make the UK world-leading in Paralympic sport

on and off the field of play" (BPA 2016: 12), again emphasising their focus on elite sport through the elite performance of team GB. Both the vision and mission clearly show that the BPA is mainly interested in developing elite disability sport. It becomes clear that grassroots participation is not a direct priority of the BPA and arguably it should not be their responsibility either. This view of the BPA focussing on elite sport is reflected during an interview with Braum, who used to work for British Athletics and is now club chair. His views are that the BPA is only interested in growing Paralympians and that they are not interested in growing grassroots participation of PWD. Braum said:

> "The pathway in Paralympics sport is so short, that literally at the moment you see a Paralympic athlete, sorry no, you see a disabled young person and they are being turned into Paralympic and Olympic athletes within six to nine months…Lauren Rowles is a good example. young girl she is still only 19…she was picked up when she was about 14 -15 probably, no probably later than that. She was attacked by some kind of viral bug or something, and it basically disabled her overnight. She was paralysed waist down. Whatever it was she got in a wheelchair. She was a sporty kid and she wanted to do sport so got into wheelchair racing… so there is this kid who is 16-17, she was on the British athletics ace program, but then rowing poached her to their Paralympic pathway, she was at the games this year and won a medal. Within three years… they almost do not see a club as being useful, they need to jump straight to there." (Braum, Athletics Club)[55]

What Braum explains here, is that the BPA has no interest in grassroots sports participation, nor the grassroots sport club and because the talent pathway is so short it basically skips the participation at the grassroots level. As such, it was expressed during the interviews that the BPA creates an image of elite sports participation which can be a barrier to PWD looking for sporting opportunities. Furthermore, it is questionable whether an organisation that has such an important focus on elite sports participation is desired to run a sport club database that has a focus on the grassroots participation.

A second barrier to emerge from the interviews is the absence of certain impairment groups on the Parasport website. This concern of not including some impairments on the website was highlighted by Daphne, an athlete with a hearing impairment and her coach, who mainly acted as a translator during the interview. When asked about the website, they had not heard of it

[55] Lauren Rowles became a rower in early 2015, after meeting with TeamGB at Stoke Mandeville (British Rowing 2017). She went on to win a gold medal at the 2016 Paralympics, in less than two years since she picked up rowing.

before, their first reaction was to question whether the website even includes hearing impairments:

> "Is the deaf in there? Because the deaf sport is not included in para. Mainstream hearing athletics UK do not support the deaf. UK Sport does not support the deaf. It is really small." (Daphne, PWD-Deaf and Coach)

Indeed, the information tool, for PWD looking to participate in sport, on the Parasport website, does not include all impairments. The BPA limited the impairments included to the impairments that it caters for at the elite level (BPA 2017b). There are currently ten impairment groups eligible to compete at the Paralympic Games (see Appendix 10, page 305, for more detail). This results in the exclusion of two groups in particular, people with Down 's syndrome and people with hearing impairments. The reason hearing impairments are no part of the BPA's focus is historically rooted in the disconnect between the Paralympics and deaf sport, see literature review Section 3.3. People with Down's are typically eligible for inclusion under intellectual disabilities. However, their unique combination of intellectual and physical disabilities make that this is a disadvantage for them. Consequently, the Parasport website does not include these two impairment groups on its website and only features those impairment groups that participate in the Paralympics as an option in the sports finder tool.

This again highlights the primary objective of the BPA, developing elite Paralympic talent, with little regard to grassroots participation and more importantly, to people with impairments different from those found in the Paralympic Games. The absence of certain impairment groups imposes barriers to the use of the Parasport website in finding sports opportunities. Not all PWD would be able to make use of it. Moreover, as the sports landscape has an image of not being for PWD, it was found that not including certain impairment groups could emphasise this image to them.

8.4. Conclusion

It emerged from the interviews that PWD struggle with finding sporting opportunities. This struggle in finding sporting opportunities is found to have a negative impact on the principle practice gap and helps to explain to some regards the disparity in sports participation. Using the conceptual framework as a lens, this chapter discussed the barriers PWD experience when looking for sports opportunities.

The findings indicate that the historical context, which the conceptual framework links to the general environment in which a sport club operates, imposes a barrier to sports participation of

PWD. It was found that the image of mainstream sport clubs remains dominated by its historical context and as such, is perceived as not an option for PWD. Furthermore, it appears that mainstream sport clubs and perhaps the broader sports landscape fail to market themselves in an inclusive way. Moreover, it seems that the historically constructed image of sport clubs is continuously confirmed in their communication which shows ableist tendencies with a sole focus on the nondisabled.

This chapter chooses to focus on digital communication in specific, as the literature review and the interviews established its importance in today's society. For many, digital communication is the first point of contact when looking for sporting opportunities. As such, it plays a particularly important role when attempting to bridge the principle-practice gap. However, it was found that digital communication is often not accessible nor conveying an inclusive message. Consequently, it is found that current digital communication only further confirms the nondisabled image of mainstream clubs.

The conceptual framework allows to better understand what issues to overcome to make digital communication better accessible and inclusive, which in turn would have a positive influence on the image of mainstream sport clubs. It was found that the understanding of digital accessibility by representatives of sport clubs is dominated by an ableist perspective. They fail to understand what digital accessibility means for PWD and approach it from their nondisabled perspective. This results in an understanding of accessibility that mainly relates to finding the sport club online. Furthermore, the findings highlight that feasibility and affordability are a barrier to better digital accessibility. The feasibility aspect is linked to the organisational structure of grassroots sport clubs, who are mainly run by volunteers. It is often these volunteers who are responsible for the digital communication of the sport club. However, the findings illustrate that these volunteers often lack the competence to make digital communication accessible. Moreover, hiring external professionals is deemed too expensive as the sport clubs operate on a non-profit basis and indicate they do not have the funds to do so.

Besides the lack of accessibility of digital communications, the findings indicate that the message told through the use of digital communication is ableist as well. Most of the digital communication does not mention anything in relation to opportunities for PWD. It was found that perhaps more than a lack of accessibility, the lack of including PWD in communication was a problem. Sport clubs should be bolder in their communication and express what they can and cannot do for PWD. As such, it is suggested that sport clubs should develop an access statement

which collates all the necessary information for PWD to assess for themselves whether a sport club would be an option for them. Such an access statement and the inclusion of PWD in digital communication should help the sports landscape to change its historical image.

As a consequence of the above-discussed barriers, it does not seem like anything would change soon without intervention from the government or Sport England. At the moment, digital accessibility is part of legislation as the EQA specifies that accessible websites are part of "reasonable adjustment". However, this is largely absent from Sport England's strategy to make the sport landscape more inclusive. Findings of this study, however, indicate that an access statement would make a big difference and could be included in the UK Governance Code or other accreditation. Consequently, more sport clubs would become aware of the need for inclusive digital communication and PWD would find it easier to assess whether mainstream clubs are an option for them.

The second part of the chapter focussed on digital sport club databases. Such databases are a practical output of mainstreaming policy and a plethora of sport club databases focussing on inclusive sport participation have been developed. However, the results indicate limitations to the existing databases with most of them being local initiatives with a limited scope. One database, the Parasport website developed by the BPA, made a nationwide attempt. Furthermore, the results highlight issues of communicability as there was a general lack of awareness of the existence of such databases. While the Parasport website was actively promoted in the run-up and just after the Paralympic Games 2012, it seems communication has disappeared. This raises feasibility issues as sport club databases are highly dependent on sport clubs voluntary signing up. Not only do sport clubs need to be aware of these databases to sign up, it was profoundly expressed that the additional bureaucracy and effort would prevent them from doing so. Consequently, it was proposed whether NGBs, who already collect data on their member clubs, could be more proactive and sign clubs up to an inclusive database. Such a more centralised approach could help overcome one of the major limitations, the lack of clubs included, of the existing databases. Furthermore, it would enhance an inclusive image of mainstream sport. There certainly seems to be momentum for such initiatives as many sport club representatives were enthusiastic about the idea of being included in an inclusive sport club database.

The results indicate that it is important to consider who develops and maintains an inclusive sport club database. It was found that the BPA who runs the Parasport website is perhaps not

the best choice. There is an indication that the desirability of the BPA does not fit with the objectives of mainstreaming policy. The BPA has a focus on elite sport participation at a Paralympic level. As such, they are not concerned with grassroots participation nor with people of impairment groups that are not present at the Paralympics. This has resulted in the absence of opportunities for certain impairment groups from the sport club database.

The creation of a plethora of inclusive sport club databases seems neither a good use of resources nor of the skills and knowledge. This is shown by the limited scope of most existing databases and the lack of awareness and communication. As the results show demand from PWD and a certain enthusiasm amongst sport clubs, it would perhaps be more fruitful to have one national database, which can be used by local organisations. This would perhaps free up some resources and could help focus communications efforts to create more awareness. Furthermore, it seems that the EFDS would be better positioned to run such an inclusive sport club database to the image of their inclusive fitness database. This database is linked to an inclusivity label that fitness centres can obtain. It would be good practise to expand the inclusive accreditation system to the wider sports landscape. This would ideally be done in by the EFDS, who has the disability knowledge and expertise in cooperation with the NGBs. In the end, it would be the NGBs who take responsibility to assess, award and assure the quality of the inclusive mark.

Chapter 9. Training and Coaching of and by people with disabilities

This chapter continues with the journey of PWD looking for sporting opportunities and starts at the point where they have found a mainstream club. From the interviews, it emerged that when PWD join a sport club, their main interaction is with the coaches of the club. Consequently, it is the competence and attitudes of coaches that are a determining factor for successful integration. As such, this chapter addresses various aspects of coaching through applying the conceptual framework, which offers a useful lens to look at the coaches and how they cope with mainstreaming policy.

As it emerged from the interviews that it is perceived that coaches have insufficient skills and knowledge (competence) to facilitate learning and inclusion of PWD, this chapter starts with a discussion on the feasibility of coaches in coaching PWD. By applying the lens of desirability, the discussion links the outcome of inadequate competence to ableism. Afterwards, this chapter continues with a discussion on how disability is addressed in coach education. Using the lens of desirability, this discussion helps to understand some of the barriers that hinder learning about disability and inclusion.

From here, the chapter moves to a discussion on PWD themselves becoming coaches. This section looks at the perceptions in the sport landscape regarding whether PWD can become a coach. This is discussed in light of feasibility, specifically the organisational support available to become a coach and desirability, the support of those close to PWD. Furthermore, this section addresses some of the challenges that PWD face when looking to become a coach.

The chapter ends with a discussion on two particular challenges that emerged from the interviews. Sport clubs highlighted that they are struggling with maintaining their work force and are unable to attract sufficient coaches. This is found to put pressure on the feasibility of sport clubs to adopt mainstreaming policy. Secondly, it emerged from the interviews that some coaches are charging PWD extra for their time which is discussed through linkage with the concept of affordability.

9.1. Competence of coaches in coaching people with disabilities

From the interviews with PWD, it emerged that coaches are experienced to have a lack of knowledge and skills, and as such, do not have the competence to coach PWD. This lack of competence is highlighted by the conceptual framework under feasibility and can act as a

potential barrier to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Furthermore, considering the importance of coaching on the development and sporting success[56] of athletes, which was previously discussed in the literature review (see Section 3.3.9), a lack of competence amongst coaches has a negative impact on the principle-practice gap. As such, this section looks at the experiences of PWD and their coaches.

People with disabilities experienced that they were often the first one with a disability in their club and, consequently, the first PWD for their coach. This has resulted in PWD experiencing a lack of competence of their coaches and found that they had to learn how to do that while already coaching them. For example, Kino and Lily who explained their experience with the lack of skills and knowledge of their coaches:

> "No, the one lady who I see as my coach, I was the first amputee and it was clear she was not used to it. So, it was a learning curve for her." (Kino, PWD-Amputee)
> "To be honest, they did not when I first joined. They had no knowledge of my visual impairment or anything disability-related at all." (Lily, PWD-Blind)

That coaches lack the necessary knowledge and skills is something that was acknowledged and experienced by national sport organisations as well. For example, Hera, a representative from CP Sport, explained that her organisation often hears stories from PWD and sport clubs that highlight the lack of competence of coaches:

> "That swimmer comes along and a lot of coaches can be a bit like, I do not know what to do … and who to contact." (Hera, CP Sport)

This lack of knowledge and skills can create tension in the athlete-coach relationship and can result in negative perceptions of mainstream sport by the athletes with disabilities. Furthermore, the coach has an important impact on the athletes' self-perception of competence and autonomy (Mageau and Vallerand 2003). Considering that PWD are often anxious about not doing well in sports (Dwyer et al. 2006) and with disability often being linked to low self-esteem and self-efficacy (Jahoda et al. 2010, Miyahara and Piek 2006), the lack of knowledge and skills of coaches can have a negative impact on the perceived self-esteem and self-efficacy of their athletes with disabilities. This does not only negatively impact the perception of mainstream sport, of which the implications were previously discussed (see Chapter 8), but a low self-esteem and a lack of self-confidence can act as a strong deterrent for many PWD to become involved in

[56] As this is a grassroots context, sporting success means here, personal development

sport as well (Kincey et al. 1993). Consequently, the lack of skills and knowledge of coaches has a negative impact on the principle-practice gap.

Furthermore, it emerged from the interviews that coaches often have ableist perceptions of athletes with disabilities. The interviews highlighted that PWD experienced that their coach is afraid of coaching them. The coaches do not know how to deal with disability and are afraid of doing something wrong or of hurting athletes with disabilities. Daisy explained her experience with coaches:

> "My coach was really afraid as she had no experience. Basically, I always get that reaction… when I joined Yoga and the coach said, 'oh my god'. The coaches, they were worried as they do not have enough knowledge." (Daisy, PWD-CP)

These experiences of coaches being afraid and scared of hurting PWD stem from ableism. Society has taught people to feel sorry for PWD which resulted in treating PWD differently than one would the nondisabled (Thomas 1999). In this case, the ableist assumptions translate (unconsciously) in feeling sorry for PWD and being scared that they could hurt themselves. These experiences are similar to the feeling of people being "too helpful" previously discussed (see Chapter 7, page 130).

Jacob echoes this experience of coaches being scared that he would get hurt while participating in sport. However, he also describes how he perceives his personal interaction to positively change the perspective of the coach. Jacob stated:

> "People are worried about you getting hurt but then when they see me in action they just go, 'We are not worried about him getting hurt, we are worried about everyone else getting hurt' (this was said in a laughing matter)." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

While it is positive that Jacob is able to positively influence the people around him, it is the ableist perspectives of those people in the first place that require him to do so. His example shows again that it is up to the athletes with disabilities to overcome their disability and prove that they are capable of participating.

While the interviews showed that most athletes with disabilities experienced a lack of competence amongst their coaches, there were two exceptions as both athletes with learning disabilities Violet, who has Down's syndrome and Tansy, who has CP and a learning disability indicated that their coaches have adequate competence and that their coaches were able to support them in their sport. They said:

> "Yes. Yes, I do, because when I was at school I used to play netball because netball is a sport and I used to do that." (Violet, PWD-Down's)
> "Yes. She got me through. It is her who got me through all this." (Tansy, PWD-CP-Learning Difficulties)

However, their perception seems to differ from the perception of their coaches. During the interview, their coaches indicated a lack of knowledge in their specific impairments and in the way of coaching athletes with disabilities. They explained that they felt lost in the beginning and that it certainly was a learning curve. As they did not know where to turn for support, they had to do a lot of experimenting and learning on the job. Quinn passionately explained how she struggled for almost a year trying to find a way to make Tansy run and train alongside her nondisabled athletes.

> "When Tansy first started with us he would not run. I had everybody lined apart and they would run together. Then after two strides, they would all go away from him and he would just stop and walk back. I kept thinking 'I don't know how to get him running, he needs to run'. So, at some point, I thought the same thing about it, but I went 'Okay, you stand in front and I run one after the other'. He was running past them, because he was not left alone. There were people in front of him, there were people behind him and once he got the rhythm, he kept waving past people and coming back and then running again. It was having to think how to get him running, because the minute he was left behind he just stopped. It took me the best part of a year to work that out." (Quinn, Athletics Club)

This quote from Quinn indicates that people with learning disabilities do not necessarily perceive the struggles that their coach goes through. This points towards their impairment distorting their view of how knowledgeable coaches are, especially considering the coaches themselves indicating this lack of knowledge when they first start coaching their athletes with disabilities. Consequently, Violet and Tansy have positive experiences and saw their coach as being competent and supportive, while in reality, their coaches struggled and lacked the necessary competence.

Considering the various impairment groups represented in the interviews, there was no indication that a lack of skills and knowledge of the coach is impairment specific. Athletes from various backgrounds and impairment groups expressed their experience with coaches lacking the necessary competence. Moreover, it was also specifically expressed by some athletes with a disability that the lack of competence is not necessarily related to their impairment, but to them being a disabled person. Jacob, for example, explained his experience in archery:

> "There is no specific coaching for my disability or my constrictions because all my constrictions are below my waist. So, I did not really understand why the coach struggled so much" (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

This confirms a study conducted by UK Coaching (2017a), that did not find any significant differences in relation to the knowledge of coaches and specific impairment groups. This indicates that the lack of knowledge in coaching PWD is not impairment related, but rather related to disability in general and that the lack of understanding disability is a significant barrier to mainstreaming. This lack of skills and knowledge in coaching PWD has previously been highlighted in the relevant literature (DePauw and Gavron 1991, 1995, 2005, Dorogi et al. 2008, Robbins et al. 2010, Sherril and Williams 1996, Sports Coach UK 2011, Townend and North 2007). Despite this has been signposted since 1991, the interviews conducted for this research confirm the lack of competence discussed in the relevant literature. Moreover, the relevant literature does not often discuss the experiences of the PWD themselves, but rather approaches it from the coaches' perspective. Additionally, the lack of competence of coaching has not been examined in the context of the principle-practice gap.

Moreover, it is becoming increasingly important that coaches are knowledgeable in coaching PWD as the UK government is emphasising mainstreaming policy, as shown in key strategic documents of the government, e.g. Sport England's strategy, (Sport England 2002, 2012) and with the survey conducted in the beginning of this project showing that 65% of sport clubs have PWD in their club. Furthermore, a survey conducted by UK Coaching (2017b) indicated that 41% of the coaches have some participants, which covered a broad spectrum of impairments, who needed additional help or support. This supports the findings of this research that most coaches do not have the competence to coach athletes with disabilities while it has become very likely for them to encounter them. Consequently, this lack of knowledge and skills of coaches influences the feasibility of mainstream sport clubs to implement mainstreaming policy and as such, negatively influence the principle-practice gap. Moreover, this section has indicated that formal coach education is lacking disability content to prepare coaches for coaching athletes with disabilities. This was also expressed during the interviews with Nigella saying:

> "Not all sports coaches have the knowledge that they need to coach PWD, coaches need more knowledge." (Nigella, PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis).

As such, the next section will discuss coach learning and qualification.

9.2. Coach qualifications and learning

As the previous section indicated that coaches lack the competence to coach PWD, this section discusses how coaches acquire knowledge and skills, and which options are available for further personal development in the area of disability sport. Coaches learn mainly in two ways, through formal learning opportunities and informal opportunities (Mcmaster et al. 2012). Formal learning opportunities are organised by formal institutions which provide organised learning opportunities, while informal opportunities exist through the learning by experience. However, it is important to note that the sport structures in the UK are heavily fragmented and this includes the organisations responsible for sports coaching as there is a multitude of organisations providing coach education. There are more formal coaching opportunities through NGBs and universities while semi-formal coaching opportunities exist through organisations such as Sportwise and UK Coaching (formerly known as Sports Coach UK). The next subsection discusses the formal learning opportunities and the inclusion of disability-specific content in their curriculum. This is particularly done through the lens of desirability as the interviews highlight that a lot of the responsibilities comes down to the coach instructor and his understanding and motivation. The second subsection discusses the informal learning of the coach and relates this to the previous section in which PWD experiences that coaches have to learn on the job.

9.2.1. Formal learning

Formal learning takes place in an institution such as at a university or through NGBs. These opportunities are graded and hierarchically structured (Nelson et al. 2006), for example, see Appendices 11 and 12, page 306. These formal learning opportunities are generally conducted over a short period of time, although becoming increasingly time-consuming at the higher levels. Furthermore, courses are often taken months or years apart. While universities are increasingly providing coach education opportunities in the form of physical education, sport science degrees, specialised sport coaching science degrees and while some universities now offer coaching degrees specifically for coaching PWD[57], formal coach education through universities is beyond the scope of this research. Moreover, only 5% of the active coaching population is

[57] The University of Worcester claims to be the first to have launched a degree in “Sports Coaching Science with Disability Sport” (University of Worcester 2012). While more recently, the John Moores University of Liverpool has created a foundation degree in “disability Sport Coaching and Development” (Liverpool John Moores University 2018).

coaching with a university degree (UK Coaching 2017a). As such, this discussion of formal learning will focus on accreditation that comes from the NGBs which accounts for 32% of the coaching population[58] while 58% of the active coaches hold no formal qualification (UK Coaching 2017a).

From the interviews, it emerged that coaches did not experience there to be any information on coaching PWD in the formal courses organised by the NGBs. Both Ashe and Riven who are a head coach in their respective athletics and swim club explained their experience with the lack of disability in formal courses. They stated:

> "It does not seem to happen at all (speaking of including disability specific knowledge in the curriculum of coaching). There is no focus on Paralympic athletes in them" (Ashe, Athletics Club)
> "I have never really been told about disability as part of any taught course" (Riven, Swimming)

This lack of including disability specific content in formal courses helps to explain the absence of competence discussed in the previous section. It comes as no surprise that coaches are lacking the competence to coach PWD when their training is lacking any information on this topic. However, it seems that NGBs are making changes to their curriculum with the aim to have them address inclusivity. To do so, they have been working together with the EFDS. Demeter from the EFDS stated that:

> "They (coaching curricula) are now (inclusive), they are getting better at that. A lot of NGBs are rewriting to include disability whereas before it would have been an add-on." (Demeter, EFDS)

Indeed, from the interviews, it seems that the NGBs of athletics and swimming are making their coaching curricula more inclusive. Apollo a representative of the ASA explained that the coaching curriculum for swimming is currently under review and that inclusion is an area that they are specifically looking at. Similarly, Artemis of England Athletics explained that the coaching curriculum for athletics had been reviewed just a couple of years back when a group of people, including himself, read over every coaching and leadership course to look at how they address inclusion. He explained that as a result, the coaching curriculum now has "golden threads" throughout.

[58] 6% at the activator/ leader level; 10% at level 1; 8% at level 2; 5% at level 3; and 3% at level 4 (UK Coaching 2017a)

It is important to make a distinction here between the focus of NGBs on inclusion and how it differs from the inclusion of PWD. During the interviews with the representatives of the NGBs, it became apparent that inclusion is addressed in a broad sense and is often used alongside diversity. As such, inclusion used in this sense encompasses gender, age, ethnicity and disability (i.e. all characteristics that have been linked to underperforming groups in sports participation), as well as ability. This understanding of inclusion conforms with the use of inclusion in the strategy formulated by their respective NGBs (England Athletics 2017, Swim England 2017). This has important implications for how disability is addressed in coach education. More specifically, this means that the desirability of coaches has an important impact on the delivery of coach education as it is the instructor that has much freedom to fill in what inclusion means. Indeed, it emerged from the interviews that the desirability of instructors has an important role in the delivery of the curriculum. Artemis from England Athletics explained this very well:

> "If they (the instructors) have a particular interest or strength, you can see how they do more on one section than another." (Artemis, England Athletics)

When considering the prevalence of ableism and the general lack of knowledge of disability in society, demonstrated in the previous two chapters, it is not surprising that much of the inclusive intent is lost during the actual delivery of the coach curricula. Ableism translates into prioritising nondisabled sport (Brittain and Beacom 2016) and, consequently, the ableist perspectives of instructors translates into a low priority of disability in coach education. This was demonstrated by Lee who stated:

> "There was a small section (on disability) but it was brushed over." (Lee, Athletics Club)

This experience of Lee is echoed by Hera from CP sport who observed this ableist attitude in various coaching courses and stated:

> "It is one of those modules you just do to get a tick so you can complete the course. There is no real importance to it like with other modules." (Hera, CP Sport)

Hera explains here very well the impact of ableism on the education of coaches. Moreover, the lack of priority given to disability can translate into coaches being taught that disability is less important and has no priority in mainstream sport. Consequently, new coaches internalise these ableist attitudes from the onset and as such maintain ableism in society. Therefore, it is not enough to update the coaching curricula and make it more inclusive, but it is necessary to

safeguard the importance of inclusion and perhaps to address disability more profoundly in order to overcome ableism and further advance mainstreaming.

From the interviews, a second issue emerged with the changes to the coaching curricula. It appears that coach instructors are not necessarily aware of the changes to the coaching curricula nor about any information on disability being in the curricula. This highlights a communicability issue between the NGBs who are responsible for the design of the coaching curricula and the instructors who are responsible for the delivery of the coaching curricula. More specifically, this points towards the directive distortion problem that results in instructors being unaware of disability/inclusion in the coaching curricula. This was demonstrated by the interviews with Caitlyn and Braum who are both coach instructors in swimming and athletics respectively.

> "It (disability) is not touched upon at all. I tutor teachers and coaches and we do not consider it at all. It is not in the syllabus...it is not within the formal qualification. The only thing that is in there is about the teachers and coaches being able to adapt sessions (to ability). However, we do not go into the specifics of how this should be done." (Caitlyn, Swim Club)
> "I delivered the coach course, level one, level two stuff until last July (2017), and coach education has never really tackled inclusion head-on with a sort of module that said these are the things you need to think of/about when working with athletes with disabilities" (Braum, Athletics Club)

These responses indicate the disconnect between the NGBs and the instructors. While changes are being implemented at the NGB level, these are not effectively communicated to the instructors in the field. This again can be related to ableism, as the directive distortion problem is more likely to occur with content that is considered of low priority, in this case, the low priority of sport for PWD.

Lastly, a limitation of formal learning is linked to its historical context in that coaching qualifications are time bound. Coaches do their coach qualification at a certain point in time, sometimes years or decades ago. Considering that NGBs constantly make changes to the coaching curricula, as demonstrated above, a coach qualification done five years ago, let alone a couple of decades ago looks nothing like a coach qualification done today. The relevance of the historical context in which a qualification was obtained was emphasised by coaches throughout the interviews.

> "You are going back many years, you are looking at the 60s when I did all my coaching. So, disability? No!" (Talon, Athletics Club)

> "There was not because back in the day when I got my coaching qualification, it was in the 70s and we did not even recognize disabled sport" (Quinn, Athletics Club)
> "I do not think it came up in mine. It is a long time since I have done my level one course (2001). I would hope it has changed an awful lot since" (Bard, Athletics Club)

These responses clearly highlight the influence of the historical context in which coach education takes place. Some coaches emphasise that sport for people with disability was not really a thing when they did their coach qualification. Indeed, as discussed in the literature review, it was not until the 90s that the government made mainstreaming a policy priority. In addition to the implications of the historical context in which coach education was done, the relevant literature highlights a general lack of follow-up after completion and limited support with the integration of newly acquired knowledge into coaching practice (Nelson et al. 2006). This exacerbates the implications of the historical context on the competence of coaches as only those coaches who are pro-active and value personal development will be better up to date with changes in coaching, which is often limited to their personal interests. Riven who is a swim coach and who most recently enrolled on coaching courses and workshops summarise the limitations of formal coaching very well in addition to highlighting the ableist attitudes towards disability when he said: "It is all aimed at coaching able-bodied [sic] swimmers … so, the answer to your question, *neglected*!"[59].

Despite this perceived lack of disability in coach education, the interviews indicated there is demand for more disability-specific content in the curricula. Most of the coaches agreed that adding disability to the coaching curricula would be very helpful. For example, Ashe and Riven called for more inclusion of disability in the coach curricula:

> "They should do extra modules to incorporate the disabled athletes and do that as part of a coaching course" (Ashe, Athletics Club)
> "It should be touched upon in the standard teaching courses" (Riven, Swim Club)

These findings confirm previous research which indicated that many coaches find it important to supplement coach education with the knowledge of sport for PWD (Dorogi et al. 2008). Furthermore, the interviews indicate it is not only coaches who value the inclusion of disability in the coach curricula, but, that there is high demand from PWD themselves to see more content

[59] Riven did his level one and two courses in which he did not recall any mention of disability. He did a level three course in 2015 in which he reported also no mention of disability. In 2017 he enrolled on the "Talent Coach Development Programme" in which he noticed a "passing mention".

on disability included. Additionally, most other sport organisations (e.g. NDSOs, UK Coaching, and YST) recognise the need for greater inclusion of disability as well. This demand to add more disability content in the coaching curricula is well summarised by Aphrodite from UK Coaching who stated:

> "I think that all coaches should learn how to be inclusive coaches from the start. It should be something that is right at the beginning of their program and then alongside that … look at adaptive equipment, rules, classification and competition within the specific sport." (Aphrodite, UK Coaching)

The inclusion of disability in the coach education is important for coaches to develop a general knowledge base of disability in terms of pedagogy, communication and psychology. This would increase the competence of prospective coaches and in turn have a positive impact on the principle-practice gap because when a coach starts learning about inclusion, they acquire tools, knowledge and confidence which then translates into them being able to include more PWD in their sessions. Additionally, these skills and knowledge are becoming increasingly important as the survey conducted at the start of this research indicates that around 64% of the mainstream sport clubs already have members with a disability.

While there is demand for more disability content in the coaching curricula, it emerged from the interviews that NGBs are reluctant to make radical changes in this regard. The NGBs and some coach instructors raised concerns that the current curricula are already lengthy and dense with material and as such impose limitations to how much disability specific content they can add (see Appendices 11 and 12, page 306, for the duration of qualifications in swimming and athletics).

> "It is really difficult (to add disability specific content) because the courses are packed and already at least a day long." (Artemis, England Athletics)

Furthermore, the interviews highlighted a reluctance to including more disability-specific content as it was considered unnecessary for many prospective coaches as they may not be coaching PWD or would not be approached by PWD during their career. The solution often adopted by NGBs is to organise workshops on disability as part of the coaches continuing professional development (CPD). See Table 16, page 192, for an overview of disability-related CPDs.

Considering that the sports sector demonstrates flexibility and freedom in the duration of coaching courses, for example, courses for a swim coach are a couple of days longer than the equivalent level for an athletics coach (see Appendices 11 and 12, page 306), and the separation

of disability content from the coaching course, there is indication of the prevalence of ableism in society. According to Brittain and Beacom (2016: 503) "In the context of sport for disabled people [sic] the prioritisation of nondisabled sport within society devalues sport for disabled athletes". In the context of the coaching curricula, the reluctance to include disability specific content indicates a prioritisation of sport for the nondisabled over sport for PWD. This is emphasised by the creation of disability-specific workshops to which the issue of disability is relegated. This has a negative impact on the competence of coaches as only those who already have an interest in disability and a knowledge of such workshops would enrol. These CPD workshops are a semi-formal form of learning which is further discussed in the next subsection.

9.2.2. Semi-formal learning

Semi-Formal learning opportunities are usually organised in the form of educational activities such as workshops or coaching clinics. These activities fall outside of the formal framework and are not part of coaching qualifications (Nelson et al. 2006). As such, they are often considered to be part of coaches CPD. In the UK there is a multitude of organisations and charities offering CPD workshops and clinics, e.g. NGBs[60], EFDS, NDSOs and other organisations. See Table 16, page 192 for an overview of relevant sport organisations and their disability-specific CPD courses. While CPD workshops are considered to be outside of the formal framework, many organisations do offer certification on successful completion of these workshops. These CPD courses are often organised by charities and other sport organisations and are beyond the scope of this research, this subsection will focus on semi-formal learning through CPDs offered by NGBs.

[60] As in the UK organisations who offer qualification must follow certain rules to be recognised, which is regulated and overseen by the Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation (Ofqual) and Qualification Wales, it is often not the NGBs themselves who offer qualifications and CPD workshops but it is their awarding bodies that are specifically set up to do so. For swimming this is ASA Awarding Body while athletics no longer has recognised qualifications.

Table 16 Disability specific CPD courses (April 2018)

Organising Body	Name	Location	Duration	Cost
Swim England	Integrating Autistic Children	Physical Location	3h00	£35
	Integrating Swimmers with Physical & Sensory Impairments	Physical Location	3h00	£35
	Teaching Aquatics to Children with Learning Difficulties	Physical Location	3h45	*
	Integrating Disabled Swimmers into Mainstream Swimming	Physical Location	3h30	*
	Deaf Friendly Swimming	E-learning	**	£15
	Visually Impaired Friendly Swimming	E-learning	**	£15
England Athletics	Disability Inclusion Training	E-learning	**	£20
	Athletics Coach Wheelchair Racing	E-learning	**	*
	Sight Loss Awareness and Guide Running	Physical Location	2h00	£30
Disability Sport Coach	Adapted Sports Course	Physical Location	3h30	£130
	Disability Awareness in Sport	E-learning	**	£45
	Disability Awareness in Sport	Physical Location	3h30	£85
CP Sport	Cerebral Palsy and Sport Awareness	Physical Location	3h00	£30
EFDS	Sainsbury's Inclusive Community Training	Physical Location	3h00	£10
	Sainsbury's Inclusive PE Training	Physical Location	5h00	Free
	Delivering an Excellent Service for Disabled Customers	E-learning	**	£10

* Not specified

** The duration of E-learning is flexible and highly dependable on the individual, however, most e-learning courses indicate they take between one and three hours to complete.

As mentioned in the previous subsection, NGBs see the organisation of CPD courses as an alternative to the addition of disability-specific content to their coach curricula. Looking at the disability-specific workshops on offer through NGBs it seems there are two types of workshops, a general workshop on the inclusion of PWD, and specialised workshops which are more impairment specific. Despite NGBs offering disability-related CPD courses, it emerged from the interviews that not everyone is necessarily aware of the existence of such courses. This suggests issues in the sphere of communicability of the conceptual framework. Indeed, it emerged from the interviews that most representatives and coaches from athletic clubs were not aware of any CPDs in relation to disability being organised by their NGB:

> "One thing that is probably not prominent in UK Sport are courses for coaching disabled athletes. It is not out there if any at all" (Shaco, Athletics Club)
> "British Athletics provides courses but I cannot recall any courses that are specifically focussing on disabled athletes. UK Athletics are trying to push coaches and volunteers for mainstream athletics but none at all for disabled athletes. I cannot recall any which are specifically for that" (Ashe, Athletics Club)

The lack of awareness does seem to indicate a communication issue. While most representatives of sport clubs and coaches are aware that NGBs organise CPD workshops and that most of them have recently received information on mainstream CPD workshops, it seems that they are unaware of NGBs organising disability specific CPDs. As such, it appears that disability-specific CDPs are largely absent from communication. This is further emphasised by Ashe who stated:

> "Unlike for mainstream courses, unless you want to go and find it yourself then no one comes and asks you if you want to take part (in disability-related workshops)." (Ashe, Athletics Club)

Therefore, it seems that there is an expectation that those with an interest in disability have to be proactive and look for disability specific CPDs themselves, while mainstream opportunities are more effectively being communicated. Consequently, some coaches indicated that they followed disability specific CPDs organised by other organisations than the NGB of their sport. The lack of communication and awareness of disability-specific CPDs seems to emphasise again the low priority of sport for PWD. As such, it reinforces ableism in society and negatively impacts the principle-practice gap.

In contrast to athletics, it emerged from the interviews that representatives and coaches of swim clubs have a good awareness of disability-related CPD courses organised by their NGB:

> "We have just had a CPD on disability swimming. So, I think there are bits out there which you can access." (Lucian, Swim Club)

> "What they do (NGBs) are CPDs which is part of your ongoing training. And it would be up to you to enrol on those within your organisation" (Sivir, Swim Club)

As most representatives of swim clubs were aware of CPD opportunities linked to disability, it seems that Swim England is fairly good at communicating these opportunities. This is rather surprising given the communicability issues in the sports landscape, discussed in the previous two chapters, and the perceived lack of communication in athletics. Moreover, there were two swim clubs that showed further initiative in educating their coaches in disability. Caitlyn explained that in her swim club it is expected that all coaches do a basic CPD on disability in swimming, she stated:

> "They have all done CPDs in terms of basic introductions to disability swimming, but also, if someone has got somebody who has autism then we make sure that they have done a specific autism CPD so that again they know." (Caitlyn, Swim Club)

Additionally, Sivir explained that her swim club integrates disability in their in-house training for young swimmers that assist the coach, she stated:

> "We actually do that as part of our own training, just to make the teenagers much more aware that there are children with difficulties" (Sivir, Swim Club)

This indicates that, in some regard, swimming has developed closer inclusion of disability compared to other sports. Perhaps this is not surprising as water has traditionally been believed to promote healing thanks to its unique weight-bearing characteristics and has, and still is, widely used in rehabilitation practices (Becker 2009). Additionally, swimming has seen relatively high participation from PWD compared to other sports (Sport England 2018). However, the differences between the individual clubs appear to be significant, highlighting the influence of the organisational structure. While some sport clubs assure that their coaches have disability specific CPDs, others are unaware of their existence. These differences in the skills and knowledge of coaches are underpinned by the absence of disability in formal coaching qualifications. Consequently, depending on the club approached, PWD could have very different experiences largely dependent on the desirability of individual sport clubs.

Furthermore, it emerged from the interviews that there is a lack of interest in CPD courses in relation to disability. Artemis a representative of England Athletics stated:

> "The problem with that is that we do not often have enough interest to put on a workshop" (Artemis, England Athletics)

It seems that some sports might be stuck in a vicious circle. As previously discussed, in some sports there is a lack of awareness of disability-related CPDs, which creates a perceived lack of interest in such CPDs and then results in less disability-related CPDs being organised and consequently being promoted and communicated. Moreover, many coaches emphasised during the interviews that they experience barriers to engage with semi-formal learning opportunities. For example, Quinn who stated:

> "I find it difficult to get to courses, I just do not have the hours in the week, sort of thing." (Quinn, Athletics Club)

Indeed, the relevant literature confirms that many coaches and other professionals experience learning deterrents to engage with CPD (Cushion et al. 2010, King 2004, Sussman 2002, Townend and North 2007). The perceived lack of time to engage with CPDs, as experienced by Quinn and other respondents, is an often-recurring deterrent to semi-formal learning. In addition, King (2004) emphasised that a lack of personal interest as a learning deterrent. Consequently, the vicious circle is further strengthened by the negative desirability of many coaches to coach PWD (Dorogi et al. 2008). This highlights a significant limitation of relying on CPDs to educate coaches better in disabilities and emphasises the importance of including disability content in the formal coach curricula. However, this does not necessarily mean there is no place for disability specific CPDs. Kino and Jacob highlight well which role CPDs could fulfil. They stated:

> "There are so many different disabilities, you cannot get coaches to coach all disabled people [sic] in the same way. There should always be an awareness that everyone's body is different" (Kino, PWD-Amputee)
> "I have only got an understanding of my own illness. I do not necessarily have an understanding of other impairments or illnesses." (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

As such, while many respondents encourage the inclusion of more disability content in the coaching curricula and with the limitations of CPDs discussed above emphasising this need, the variance that exists in disability provides an opportunity to create specialised workshops. Indeed, NGBs are organising workshops that focus on certain impairment types (see Table 16, page 192) and as such provide more in-depth knowledge in specific disabilities and how these relate to a specific sport. This is especially useful for coaches who have a basic knowledge on including PWD in mainstream sport and are looking to learn about specific impairment groups.

Despite formal and semi-formal learning opportunities, it emerged from the interviews that coaches engaged with PWD perceive that they have to learn "on the job". The next subsection will discuss these informal learning opportunities in more depth.

9.2.3. Informal learning

Besides formal and semi-formal learning opportunities, which facilitate learning through attending formal sessions and CPD workshops, coaches learn through informal experiences "on the job". Informal learning is a "lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment" (Nelson et al. 2006: 253). When looking at coach development literature, informal learning includes a wide variety of learning opportunities such as previous athletic experiences, practical coaching experience, mentoring, resources of information (e.g., the Internet), and interactions with other coaches (Nelson et al. 2006, Wright et al. 2007). Consequently, these informal learning opportunities are wide-ranging and will vary considerably from coach to coach. However, little research has been done on these informal learning situations, especially in relation to disability (Mcmaster et al. 2012).

While the total extent of informal learning opportunities for coaches is beyond the scope of this project, informal learning proves relevant to this study in that it emerged from the interviews that coaches indicated that they have to rely on informal learning when confronted with coaching PWD due to a lack of acquiring the necessary competence in previous formal learning opportunities (see Section 9.1). Quinn's example (page 183) highlighted the experimental nature and reliance on trial and error to learn about coaching PWD. Coaching literature suggests that learning through trial and error is not very effective and, moreover, indicates that coaches who perceive they failed through trial and error are more likely to develop negative attitudes (Cregan et al. 2007, Hammond et al. 2014). Consequently, coaches who perceive they failed in coaching PWD are more likely to develop negative attitudes towards the idea of inclusion and mainstreaming. As such a reliance on informal learning opportunities does not only negatively influence the competence of coaches but also has a negative influence on the desirability of coaches and consequently increases their resistance to mainstreaming policies. Furthermore, considering that a lack of interest is a significant deterrent to CPD workshops, it is likely that coaches who developed negative attitudes towards PWD because of perceived failure in coaching PWD would not necessarily look for CPDs to develop their knowledge but instead further internalise resistance against inclusion. This further emphasises the need for inclusion of disability-specific content in the formal education of coaches. This would develop a basic understanding amongst coaches on which they can rely when they are confronted with PWD during their coaching practices and prevent them from relying solely on trial and error as a strategy.

In addition to learning through trial and error, it emerged from the interviews that the interaction between athletes with disabilities and their coach is important. In the disability sport literature, these interactions are not well-researched with only a handful of studies recognising their importance (Cregan, Bloom, & Reid, 2007; O'Neill & Richardson, 2008; Williams & Taylor, 1994). Chapter 7 (see Sections 7.1. and 7.2) discussed two aspects of the coach-athlete relationship that have a negative impact on the athlete with a disability. First, it discussed the negative impact of an ableist desirability of the coach which expects athletes with disabilities to overcome their disability and perform at a level based on nondisabled standards. Secondly, it discussed how (unconscious) ableist perspectives are expressed through coaches being too helpful and scared of athletes with disabilities getting hurt. These experiences can have a negative impact on the athlete with a disability who may internalise these ableist assumptions and adopts a negative attitude towards inclusion and mainstreaming. Additionally, these coaches may, in turn, consider these experiences as a failure and may in turn also develop negative perceptions towards inclusion and mainstreaming. Daphne explained that, as a result of her relationship with a previous coach, she switched clubs and coach and almost decided to quit mainstream sport. She stated:

> "The coach did not understand about the Deaf in society and how hard it is as a disability.
> My coach before never learned sign language and other people never do it. It makes it very hard to communicate." (Daphne, PWD-Deaf)

Daphne emphasised that it was not only the practical difficulty of the coach not knowing sign language but the lack of wanting to understand the Deaf better and learn some basic sign language that had a negative impact on her relationship with the coach. However, she found a new coach with whom she was able to develop a positive relationship. Her current coach showed interest in her disability and started with a basic sign language course, in which he is now fluent, to facilitate learning.

Furthermore, from the interviews, it emerged that a good relationship between the athlete with a disability and their coach can help mitigate negative experiences translating into ableist perceptions. These good relationships seem to be even more important when coaches heavily rely on trial and error. For example, Jacob who emphasised he has a good relationship with his coach explained how his coach, and other coaches in his club, would adopt trial and error in coaching him. He stated:

> He will say, 'Right, you need to do this' and then I will go, 'Well, I cannot do that'. So, we figure out an alternative or a different way of doing it… I work quite closely with the coaches in our club so that I benefit and they benefit. Having PWD at mainstream clubs doing that sport, it offers coaches the opportunity to learn.

This example shows that perceived lack failure does not necessarily translate into negative attitudes as, within a positive relationship, failure is considered to be a learning opportunity instead. Furthermore, this example highlights that the coach is dependent on the athlete to provide information on their impairment. As such, it seems that the interactions between athletes with disabilities and their coach are perhaps even more important than similar relationships between nondisabled athletes and their coach because the coach relies heavily on the athlete to convey information about his or her disability.

9.3. People with disabilities becoming coaches

The relevant training and coaching literature reports a dearth of disability-related research within the field (Cregan et al. 2007, Lee and Porretta 2013). Limited research has been done on training and coaching of PWD (Fitzgerald 2011, Martin and Whalen 2014, Mcmaster et al. 2012, Townsend et al. 2015). However, not much is known about PWD looking to become coaches. This section attempts to address that gap by looking at the experiences of actors in the sports landscape in relation to PWD looking to become coaches.

From the interviews it emerged that most actors perceive training and coaching as accessible for PWD and that many actors are supportive for PWD to become coaches. As such, the interviews indicate a positive feasibility and desirability for PWD to become coaches. A positive feasibility is shown through the organisational support and physical accessibility to formal coach education. For example, Apollo from the ASA stated:

> "Yeah, I think we do enough to support people going through qualifications and apprenticeships" (Apollo, ASA)

Additionally, Artemis from England Athletics explained that they have processes in place to assure reasonable adjustment and to support PWD to enrol onto formal and semi-formal learning opportunities. Artemis stated:

> "we have a process set up and it relies on the disabled person saying they are disabled when they sign up and then it asks if there is any additional support they require. Sometimes they ask for a PowerPoint in advance or notes printed in a large font. Others are just checking if it is accessible or confirming that there is a process in place." (Artemis, England Athletics)

Furthermore, Caitlyn who, alongside her position in a swim club, works for the Institute of Swimming[61] (IOS) added that swim clubs/centres would not be able to organise their workshops unless their venue is considered accessible. She also explained how the process works from the coach instructor's perspective:

> "We are told in advance as tutors if people are arriving with a disability. We then have a couple of weeks to communicate with that person to see what they need … I have had two people with colour blindness and they wanted different things. I have learnt to not assume and communicate with them before the course to find out what works for them and bring that in to the course." (Caitlyn, Swim Club)

These examples clearly illustrate the organisational support for PWD to become coaches. It shows that NGBs have adopted a specific process to identify the needs of PWD and accommodate them. Additionally, the interviews showed that most PWD had positive experiences with becoming a coach. The interviews highlighted a positive desirability of the close environment of PWD to become a coach. Tansy (PWD-CP/Learning Difficulties) explained that he felt a lot of support from his coach to become a cricket coach. He said that he was starting with this in the next few months. Emphasising the positive desirability of the close environment is Jacob. When Jacob was asked whether he felt supported, he stated:

> "Yes, massively. They approached me, they asked me, I did not apply for it. I will be the first squash coach with a disability in the country" (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

Jacob was positively surprised of the proactiveness of his coach and club for him to become a coach. These examples show the positive desirability of PWD to become coaches. Furthermore, Jacob continued to explain how his sport club made physical changed to the court to allow easier access for people with disability and as such enhancing the feasibility of PWD to participate in the sport and to become a coach. Jacob said:

> "I have been coaching for about two months… I am loving it… They have been brilliant actually. They have adapted one of their (squash) courts with wider doors to accommodate for wheelchairs and other disabilities (Jacob, PWD-CRPS)

While this shows the positive desirability of the sport club towards mainstreaming, it also emphasises the support they give to PWD to become a coach. Moreover, Jacob highlights that

[61] The IOS is the largest provider of accredited (by the ASA awarding body) swim courses and qualifications in the UK.

he is enjoying the coaching a lot. These positive experiences were echoed by most PWD engaged with coaching and were similar to what Violet stated:

> "I am a club coach now. I love doing it" (Violet, PWD-Down's)

Moreover, the interviews highlighted the positive impact that becoming a coach and working as a coach can have on the lives of PWD. Nigella explained this positive impact on the life of someone she knows while emphasising that she could relate to that. She stated:

> "He (the acquaintance with a disability) has grown so much in confidence and he has become quite mature. He has Down syndrome. He used to have tantrums before, he has come a long way. It is nice to see. As a lad and his disability, they do not treat him any differently." (Nigella, PWD-Harlequin Ichthyosis)

However, there were some who expressed a more sceptical tone during the interviews. This is well summarised by Shaco who stated:

> "I think in theory yes. Whether it actually would be in practice, I am not sure" (Shaco, Athletics Club)

While he recognises that NGBs have processes in place to support PWD who enrol on coaching programmes, he remained sceptical whether these would be efficient enough in practice. Indeed, the interviews highlighted concerns about some specific impairments and the possible barrier it poses to participating in a coaching programme. Daphne raised concerns about affordability. When she was asked whether she would be able to enrol on a coaching course she said, "I do not think so, they have got to pay for a signer" (Daphne, PWD-Deaf). Moreover, her athletics coach, Talon, shared this perspective that the NGB would not pay for a signer, making it impossible for her to enrol on a course unless she pays for one herself, finds someone from her friends to do it or, as Talon suggests if he does it:

> "Not unless I do it for free and we will try it because I want you to (become a coach) so you can help Deaf". (Talon, Athletics Club)

As such, it seems that for some impairments there might be additional barriers to enrolment in coach education. Daphne highlights that for some impairments there might be affordability issues resulting in a lack of feasibility for certain impairment groups to enrol. However, confirming the previous statements, Talon showed a positive desirability and was a determent to get her on a coaching course, emphasising the positive desirability to get PWD coaching.

A second concern was raised by Demeter from the EFDS, who experienced resistance against people with visual impairments becoming coaches. She stated:

> "There is still a lot of problems around someone trying to become a coach who has a visual impairment. They cannot necessarily see all the mistakes that someone is making. Some of the coaches and assessors are saying that they cannot become a level two coach because they cannot see what happens. But you can have someone with them who explains the movements that they are doing and then the coach can offer advice. It is about how you overcome those issues rather than just saying you cannot become a level two" (Demeter, EFDS)

This quote shows that the impairment does not necessarily need to be an obstacle to become a coach but that there are certain ways of adapting to the needs of the PWD that would allow them to coach. As such, there is some indication that people are still approaching who can become a coach from a normative perspective. Furthermore, it seems that society, in general, has not necessarily moved on from a normative perspective on coaching as the example from Artemis shows:

> "As an example, I went to an event once and the coach was a wheelchair user and the people that turned up just presumed she was a participant, they did not realise she was a coach until I said, 'speak to the coach'" (Artemis, England Athletics)

Both these two examples show to some extent that ableism is prevalent in society. Society, including coaches and coach tutors, still approach coaching from a nondisabled perspective. This can impose barriers to PWD looking to become a coach or can result in negative experiences of those who are coaching. However, as Aphrodite explains, having coaches with disabilities delivering sessions can have a lasting impact, she stated:

> "The workshops that have the biggest impact, are those that are delivered by non-speaking Deaf people. So, they bring along an interpreter and it is quite an amazing experience for coaches, you may have never experienced something like that before." (Aphrodite, UK Coaching)

Despite the support for PWD to become coaches demonstrated in this research, they are still confronted with resistance within society. This resistance stems from ableism which approaches coaching from a nondisabled perspective. As such, it focusses on the limiting aspects of an impairment rather than on the strengths of them as an individual. Moreover, it is only by working more with PWD that these perceptions can positively change.

9.4. Coach related challenges

From the interviews, two specific challenges to the area of coaching emerged. First, the interviews indicated a general lack of coaches while clubs are also stating that they are struggling with attracting new coaches. This is linked to feasibility as insufficient workforce can have

negative implication to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Secondly, it emerged from the interviews that coaches are increasingly asking PWD in specific to pay for their services. This raises concerns about the affordability of mainstreaming policy as it puts an additional financial burden on PWD.

The interviews indicated that both small and bigger clubs struggle with attracting enough coaches or convincing members to get involved with coaching. Braum, a representative of a big athletics club, and Shaco, a representative of a smaller athletic club both indicate this lack of coaches:

> "We are a big club, but we have not got enough coaches either" (Braum, Athletics Club)
> "We have always struggled to get people to volunteer, to become coaches and that is a shame as we have a lot of people here with a lot of knowledge who can do a lot of good." (Shaco, Athletics Club)

Considering that such a lack of manpower is part of feasibility, it can pose a barrier for sport clubs to adopt mainstreaming policy. This can be explained by the fact that the capacity of sport clubs is often limited by the amount of coaches in a club and as such clubs who are "full" can be pickier. Additionally, sport clubs might perceive that they do not have the capacity to include PWD as it emerged from the interviews that PWD are often considered to be more time consuming and to put more pressure on the logistics of a club.

Additionally, the combination of the reported lack of coaches and the move towards professionalisation has resulted in a second issue. It emerged from the interviews that coaches are increasingly asking athletes to pay for their services. This move away from the coach as volunteer towards a coach towards being a coach as a profession was not experienced as a positive movement by some coaches[62]. Ashe exemplifies this sentiment well when he stated:

> "coaches are in such short supply and what I have seen is coaches are asking to pay for their time, more athletic coaches are charging athletes for their time" (Ashe, Athletics Club)

This practice was found to go against the spirit of grassroots coaching and perhaps more troubling than coaches asking athletes to pay, is Ashe`s experience with coaches asking PWD specifically to pay for their time with them. Ashe explained that while coaches of neighbouring

[62] It is important to note here that this is considering grassroots sport clubs and does not concern the coaching of elite athletes

clubs are incorporating more athletes with disabilities, this comes at a cost as these coaches are all charging these athletes with disabilities for their time with them.

This is troubling as disability has been linked to both being the cause and consequence of poverty (Braithwaite and Mont 2009, Emmett 2005, Fremstad 2009, New Policy Institute 2016). Emmett (2005: 80) said: "disability increases the risk of poverty while poverty creates the conditions for increased risk of disability"[63]. In general, PWD and their families are poorer than the rest of the population[64] (Emmett 2005). Almost 33% of PWD in the UK are at risk of poverty, while 40% of children with disabilities and 60% of children and young people with learning disabilities and mental ill-health live in poverty (Smith 2016).

It is worrisome that coaches are charging PWD extra on top of membership fees. Considering so many children with disabilities are living in poverty, with poverty directly related to disability and with PWD being hit hard by austerity measures, the fact that coaches are charging them extra would significantly reduce the number of sporting opportunities for PWD. This relates to affordability where PWD cannot afford to pay the coach extra and as a result, introduce an extra (financial) barrier for PWD to participate in mainstream sport clubs.

Analysis of the interviews revealed three possible motives that help understand why coaches are charging PWD specifically. First, it emerged from the interviews that coaches and sport clubs are of the perception that PWD require more time and attention from the coach. This perception of PWD being more time consuming became prevalent during the interviews. Braum, for example, explains how seated throwing is a lot more time consuming than a regular throwing session:

> "…with framed throwers, that they have to be seated, they have to be anchored and all the rest of it. So that takes quite a long time to actually organise what normally would normally have been an hour session." (Braum, Athletics Club)

Quinn also recognised that PWD demand more attention. She said that her athlete with a disability comes to one-on-one sessions or sessions with fewer people. This makes it easier for her athlete with a disability to "take more attention" (Quinn, Athletics Club).

[63] The increased vulnerability to disability is explained by poor nutrition, greater exposure to violence, lack of knowledge on prevention and so on, while on the other hand, disability increases the risks of being poor as a result of the costs associated with disabilities, discrimination in the labour market, difficulties accessing education and so on.

[64] In the UK, nearly half of the poverty is directly associated with disability (New Policy Institute 2016).

Linked to the previous motive, it emerged from the interviews that there is a perception that PWD are more inclined to pay for the one-to-one time. For example, Ashe who said:

> "They (PWD) are more inclined to pay for that time. We are starting to see that more regularly now. That is the way forward." (Ashe, Athletics)

However, it was unclear whether PWD are indeed more inclined to pay coaches or whether PWD do not perceive there to be an alternative to pay the coach extra for them to be able to participate in mainstream sport. Additionally, it must be noted that this was mainly seen in athletics and that there was no indication that swim coaches were experiencing the same move towards charging PWD. Similarly, there was also no reference to PWD being more time-consuming in swimming. However, interviews with committee members of swim clubs did indicate that they could put fewer people in a swimming lane when an athlete with a disability joins with a nondisabled group. This, in turn, was linked to a lower total amount of swimmers in the group which would reduce the income or cost efficiency.

Lastly, a third explanation draws on findings from coach education literature that suggests that cost is a barrier to CPD workshops (Armstrong and Weidner 2011, Cushion et al. 2010, Hughes 2005). Considering that most NGBs relegate the issue of coaching people with disability to CPD courses and as such put disability coach education behind a paywall, it might be that coaches are charging this extra cost to their "customer", the athlete with a disability, as is common in the commercial market. More research would be needed to explore how far reaching this problem of coaches charging PWD is, whether there is a distinction between sports and what the motivations are behind this practice.

9.5. Conclusion

Considering that when PWD join a mainstream sport club, their main interaction is with a coach, this chapter focussed on the relation between PWD and the coach. The conceptual framework was applied to the discussion of this relationship which helped identify potential barriers to mainstreaming policy.

The results indicate that coaches lack the competence, due to a lack of necessary skills and knowledge, to coach PWD. These findings were consistent across impairment groups. However, it must be noted that people with learning disabilities were found to not necessarily grasp the lack of competence of the coach and the difficulties they face. The lack of competence amongst coaches is troublesome as this can negatively influence the self-esteem and self-efficacy of PWD and as such, it can create an additional barrier to sports participation. Additionally, the

perception of mainstream sport clubs as being a viable option for PWD can be negatively influenced by the experience of PWD with coaches who lack the competence to coach them. Considering the findings discussed in the previous chapter, which found that the mainstream sports landscape already has a negative image in relation to being a viable option for PWD, the lack of competence amongst coaches would further strengthen and maintain this perception.

Furthermore, this research links the lack of competence amongst coaches with ableism. The lack of knowledge in disability was found to translate into an ableist understanding of disability. Society has taught people to feel sorry for PWD which is shown through coaches being afraid of PWD getting hurt. Moreover, it was found that PWD can internalise these assumptions or have to prove that they are able to overcome their disability and participate in a similar matter than the nondisabled. These ableist perceptions of disability can in turn lead to negative experiences of PWD who feel they are limited in what they are allowed to do in a mainstream club or perceive that a mainstream club is not for them altogether. Consequently, the discussed lack of competence amongst coaches has a negative impact on the principle-practice gap.

The findings also indicate that a lack of competence amongst coaches is not properly addressed through coach learning. Moreover, it was found that ableism is, to some extent, still influencing coach education. While NGBs have been changing their coach curricula to address inclusion better, this is often done through the broadest understanding of inclusion and as a result it does not properly address disability. Moreover, the findings show that its delivery is highly dependable on the desirability of the instructor. This is a result of coach instructors having much freedom in interpreting inclusion and the delivery of a course. In practice, this means that nondisabled aspects are often prioritised while disability specific content is side-lined or skipped over. Additionally, it was found that semi-formal learning opportunities or CPD workshops are used as an alternative to the inclusion of disability specific content in the coach curricula. It is likely that coaches following formal education internalise this prioritisation of nondisabled sport and as such it is normalised to believe that disability is not important in mainstream sport and that it is acceptable for it to be side-lined. Consequently, current coach education creates an environment in which ableism is accepted rather than challenged.

Additionally, the current approach to coach education does not sufficiently address the competence gap of coaches. Having disability being taught separately moves the responsibility towards the coaches themselves, who are expected to know about and attend these extra workshops. However, the findings indicate that, as a consequence of the directive-distortion

problem and ableism, many coaches are unaware of these disability CPD opportunities. It must be noted that this was found to be more profound in athletics than in swimming, indicating that sports that have a longstanding relation with disability might be better at communicating disability related information better. Furthermore, relegating the issue of disability to CPDs puts up a paywall for those who are interested in coaching PWD, further reducing the likelihood that coaches engage with such programmes. Additionally, the impact of CPD workshops is further minimised by a general lack of interest in disability by coaches and the other general barriers that coaches perceive to engage with additional learning opportunities.

As a consequent of the lack of disability in formal coach education and the limited reach of semi-formal opportunities, coaches are heavily relying on informal learning when confronted with disability. This in practice is mainly done through trial and error which is found to be inefficient and, in case it is perceived to fail, can result in coaches adopting ableist perceptions of disability and negative attitudes to mainstreaming. Additionally, the findings indicate that trial and error can result in negative experiences of PWD, who in turn can internalise ableist attitudes and adopt negative attitudes to mainstreaming as well. However, the findings indicate that a good relationship between the coach and athlete with a disability can counteract some of these negative implications addressed above. Moreover, the interviews showed that some coaches truly go above and beyond to facilitate the inclusion of PWD and to create a good relationship with them. This was particularly true in the support that coaches showed for athletes with disabilities to become coaches themselves. In addition, it was found that there is a lot of organisational support as well. However, there is indication that certain impairment groups are faced with barriers linked to ableism in society.

Lastly, it was found that sport clubs are having difficulties with attracting enough coaches. This could be a possible barrier to mainstreaming as sport clubs do not perceive it to be logistically feasible for PWD to become a member. Furthermore, the lack of coaches in combination with the professionalisation of the coach profession has led to coaches charging athletes more often. However, the results indicate that PWD are unpropitiously confronted with this practice, raising question around the affordability of PWD to participate in the mainstream. Furthermore, there is indication of a link between the competence of coaches and coaches charging PWD. It seems that a lack of competence can result in coaches being overwhelmed by PWD and left unsure on how to include them in their mainstream practices, which in turn leads to them moving towards one-to-one sessions that are paid separately.

The lack of disability in formal coach learning makes the experience of PWD looking to join a mainstream club highly variable and dependable on the desirability of a certain coach. Additionally, these experiences are influenced by the personal relationship between the athlete with a disability and their coach. To prevent coaches relying on trial and error as their only strategy in coaching PWD, it is necessary to rethink the place of disability in coach education. Furthermore, while formal coach education can address the knowledge and skill gap of new coaches, it does nothing to address the existing lack of competence. Considering that many coaches do not find their way onto CPD workshops, more research is necessary to provide a better understanding on how the current gap can be addressed.

Chapter 10. Discussion

To aid this discussion chapter, an overview of the chapters is given in Table 17, below. Additionally, to facilitate easy reading, it is chosen to use simplified titles for the result chapters.

Table 17 Chapter Overview with Simplified Titles

Chapter	Chapter Title	Simplified Chapter Title
Chapter 1	Introduction	n/a
Chapter 2	Disability Theory	n/a
Chapter 3	Disability and Sport Policy	n/a
Chapter 4	Theory of Policy Analysis	n/a
Chapter 5	Methodology	n/a
Chapter 6	Conceptual Framework	n/a
Chapter 7	Mainstreaming Sport Provision	Mainstreaming Chapter
Chapter 8	Finding Inclusive Sporting Opportunities	Communication Chapter
Chapter 9	Training and Coaching of and by PWD	Training and Coaching Chapter

The main aim of this research is to understand mainstreaming in the UK sport sector, specifically examining mainstreaming policy in relation to the various sport organisations, which, through stakeholder analysis, are identified to play a key role (see Chapter 5). Mainstreaming, which seeks the inclusion of PWD in the nondisabled sport environment, has been a long and gradual process shaped by a number of policies that span various governmental departments that come together in the strategy formulated by Sport England, which is an arms-length organisation established to lead on grassroots sport. Considering the existence of a significant disparity between the intent of mainstreaming policy and the situation in the field, termed the principle-practice gap, the study rationale was to contribute to the understanding of sport for PWD as an issue of policy implementation. With limited research having been conducted in the field of understanding mainstreaming policy in the sport sector (for example, Thomas 2004 who focusses on policy development and organisational change in relation to mainstreaming policy), as far as can be ascertained, the chosen focus of this research is unique. This study addresses the research question “what factors and processes are responsible for the principle-practice gap in the UK sport sector”. In order to answer the research question, the following objectives were identified:

- To establish the key characteristics of the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy;
- To provide a better understanding of the components and their interrelationship underpinning the principle-practice gap;
- To provide a better understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming policy;
- To assess the congruence of mainstreaming policy and the implementation of it with the expectations and experiences of PWD.

From reviewing the relevant literature, it is clear that policy implementation has been the main topic of interest for several researchers, specifically in western countries. This to the extent that the scholarly field of implementation has been heavily criticised (see Chapter 6). To address some of the concerns and to further develop the field, it has been suggested to focus on the understanding of particular issues in relation to a particular policy (DeLeon and DeLeon 2002, O'Gorman 2011). Additionally, as Chapters 4 and 6 demonstrated, the study of policy has only been applied to the sport sector in a limited capacity. Therefore, the implementation of policy is not only under-explored in the context of sport but particularly in the context of sport for PWD. As such, this study attempts to add to the field of policy implementation by addressing the specific issues of mainstreaming policy in the UK sport sector, in addition to addressing the lack of knowledge regarding sport for PWD.

Finally, while ableism has been used as a lens to analyse diverse issues, such as a specific policy or sector, to the knowledge of the author, this is the first investigation to combine ableism within a policy implementation framework. This is done through the inclusion of ableism in the filtering variables that help understand policy implementation. Moreover, this study shows the significant value of ableism in analysing the implementation of policy aimed at PWD.

This chapter addresses two considerations. The first part draws together and compares the empirical findings from the three emerged themes under investigation in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 with regards to the conceptual framework outlined in the Conceptual Framework Chapter. This requires a brief assessment of the elements that make up the conceptual framework. The last section of this chapter considers the theoretical and/or methodological insights set out in Chapters 2-4 and Chapter 6. Here the salience of the meso-level theoretical framework (see Chapter 4) is analysed. Furthermore, particular emphasis is given to evaluating the usefulness of the conceptual framework set out in Chapter 6 and the incorporation of ableism as a lens to

investigate the policy implementation. As a reminder, the conceptual framework is shown in Figure 11, below.

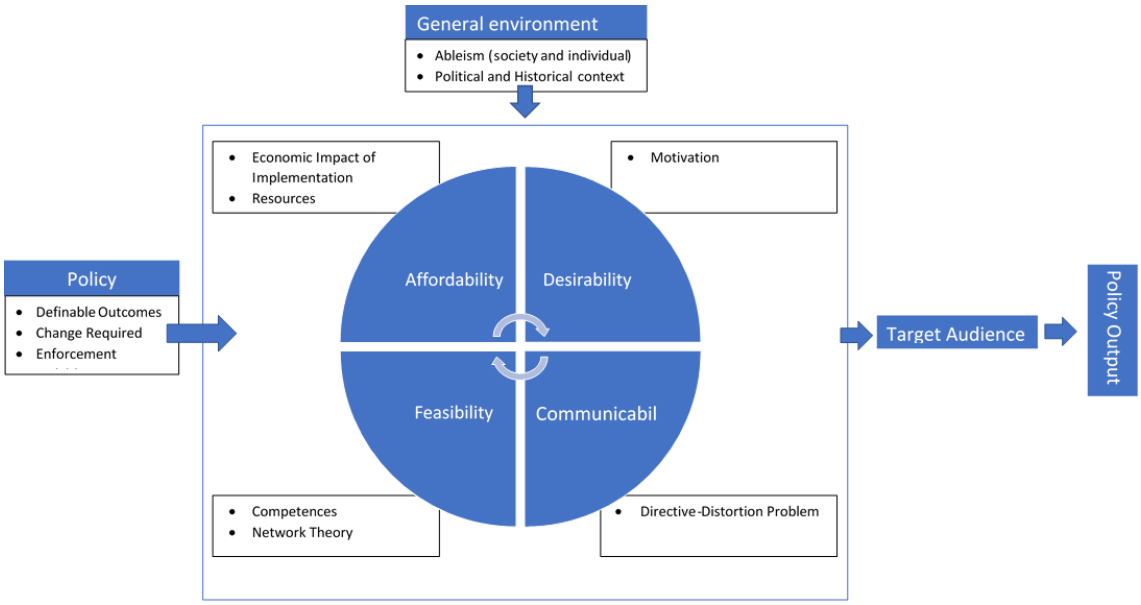


Figure 11 Conceptual Framework

10.1. Policy objectives

Effective policy implementation is far more likely when the changes they bring about are marginal and when there is a high level of congruence between the goals of the policy-maker and the goals of the policy-implementer (Matland 1995, Van Meter and Van Horn 1975, Sabatier 1993). To assess the change that mainstreaming brings to the sport landscape it is important to understand its roots and objectives. In the UK, sport policy is dominated by two contrasting objectives, (1) elite sport performance, i.e. winning medals at the Olympic and Paralympic games, and (2) to create an active nation, i.e. sport for all policy that aims to increase sport participation levels among the general population. Within its goal of an active nation, the government has identified various underperforming groups of which PWD show the biggest disparity. To address this disparity and in light of a changing social environment, the government has recently turned to mainstreaming as a strategy to increase the participation levels of PWD, which is the focus of this research.

Mainstreaming is influenced by disability policy that has over the years been moving towards greater integration of PWD in nondisabled environments (Warnock Report, DDA, Special Educational Needs and Disability Act and EQA; see Chapter 3). However, document analysis indicates that the goal of mainstreaming remains rooted in sport policy which has important

implications for the objective of mainstreaming policy. While mainstreaming policy strives towards more equality in the sports sector, ultimately, it is a strategy to increase sport participation levels and to win medals at the Paralympic Games. However, mainstreaming policy does remain grounded in the social model of disability as it assumes that the mainstream sport sector is disabling people with impairments and strives towards societal change that would allow the participation of PWD in nondisabled sport organisations.

With regards to change, it would be hard to argue that either elite performance or increasing participation in sport represents a radical change in policy. Focussing on creating an active nation, the goal of increased sport participation has been a regular aspect of sports development since the publication of the Wolfenden Report in the 1960s, and particularly since the 1980s with the introduction of sport for all policy which prompted an emphasis on underrepresented and marginalised groups. Similarly, the participation of PWD in sport is not a dramatic change in policy either and has been part of sport policy since the 1980s which saw the UN Year of the Disabled (1981). However, when analysed in more detail, there are noticeable shifts in sport participation policy, particularly in terms of a switching focus between the various underperforming groups, emphasis on school sport, sport as a tool to address social issues and public health concerns, the choice for NGBs and grassroots sport clubs to be the drivers of sport policy and, most significantly for this study, a change from segregated sport participation of PWD to the inclusion of PWD in a nondisabled environment. These issues represent a relatively major shift in the policy environment and as such, mainstreaming policy is likely to result in resistance and conflict making implementation more difficult. Moreover, as the findings in Chapters 7 and 8 indicate, the policy objectives of elite performance are considered to be a barrier to the objectives of mainstreaming policy at a grassroots level and, by extension, to sport for all policy.

It was found that elite performance influenced mainstreaming in that NGBs only show an interest in those athletes with a disability who can be classified. Moreover, sport clubs perceived that they are not seen as useful as PWD are fast-tracked onto Paralympic pathways that are not necessarily in the same sport. Thus, NGBs and other organisations show little interest in grassroots participation as a consequence of elite performance taking priority over other sport policy. This is perhaps not too surprising as NGBs have a historically embedded focus on elite performance which has been endorsed by the government (Bergsgard et al. 2007). Even though the publication of “a Sporting Future for All” encouraged successful NGBs to invest at least 5% of their income into grassroots facilities and activities, and to develop strategies to attract under-

represented groups, the NGBs were also restructured to produce elite success which altered the balance between both priorities in favour of elite performance (Green and Houlihan 2005). As such, it seems that mainstreaming policy not only represents a significant change in the sport landscape, it is also put at a disadvantage as a result of competing goals from elite performance policy.

Furthermore, Matland (1995) argues that the level of ambiguity in policy directly affects the implementation process in significant ways. Ambiguity can lead to misunderstanding and uncertainty, and therefore can hinder policy implementation. We can distinguish between ambiguity of goals and ambiguity of means. Considering ambiguity of goals, document analysis shows that sport for all policy aims to increase sport participation levels. However, as sport policy formulated by the DCMS tends to address all underperforming groups together and as the findings in Chapter 7 indicate, the goal of mainstreaming policy is not as clearly formulated. Mainstreaming policy lacks SMART[65] formulated objectives and no long-term goals have been formulated either. As such, it remains heavily debated and unclear what mainstreaming policy attempts to achieve and when it would be considered successful. Consequently, the sport sector is characterised by opposing perspectives, namely, partial segregation versus full integration. Furthermore, the findings show that this ambiguity in mainstreaming policy has allowed the various actors in the sports landscape to interpret mainstreaming in their own regard. These interpretations can be largely grouped into three categories, largely dependent on the desirability of the organisation looked at. These three categories are (1) ability which understands mainstreaming as the inclusion of PWD who are capable of achieving nondisabled standards while other PWD are expected to participate in segregated disability specific sport clubs; (2) choice which defends the role of disability specific sport provision and aims to supplement these with a mainstream offer so that PWD themselves can choose where to participate; and (3) inclusion which aims to integrate PWD in a nondisabled sport club either in (a) hybrid fashion, nondisabled sport club who provide a disability specific offer, or (b) full inclusion, the integration of PWD within a nondisabled offer of a nondisabled sport club.

[65] SMART stands for: Specific, Measurable; Achievable/Action Oriented; Realistic; Timely, and is a principle/philosophy often adopted in project management to formulate and evaluate goals. SMART goals help with clarity, measurability and focus. For more information, see (Chartered Management Institute 2011, Lazarus 2004).

Depending on the interpretation of the sport organisation, PWD would have a very different experience which in the case of this study has proved to not necessarily be a positive one.

Additionally, considering ambiguity of means, this research found that there remains uncertainty about what roles the various organisations in the sport landscape are to play in the mainstreaming process. While it is clear that NGBs are expected to take on more responsibility for the disability side of their sport, policy remains vague on what this should look like and, as discussed earlier, are encouraged to prioritise elite performance over mass participation. Furthermore, the findings indicate that various sport organisations are uncertain about who to turn to for help or funding to further extend the mainstreaming agenda. This study has shown that the government has engaged in a complicated process in a fragmented landscape with its mainstreaming policy. In addition, the value-loaded character of the notion of mainstreaming/inclusion itself has made it impossible to provide any straightforward guidance on what has to be achieved. Furthermore, the process is further complicated by competing objectives and a short-term approach (policy shifts every four years).

10.2. General environment

10.2.1. Historical context

Takala and Hausstätter (2012) discuss in their work how the historical development of (disability) education has significant implications for attitudes towards special education. In a similar manner, the historical development of sport[66] is found to be particularly important to this study as it is found to still influence perceptions, values and attitudes towards sport for PWD as shown throughout the three result chapters (see Chapters 7-9). Furthermore, despite the mainstreaming efforts of the last twenty years, this research shows that the perceptions of the sport landscape and, specifically, the mainstream sport club remain characterised by segregation and rivalry. As the results discussed in Chapter 8 indicate, these historically rooted perceptions pose a barrier to the implementation of mainstreaming policy as these perceptions result in PWD not considering mainstream clubs as an option when looking for sport opportunities. However, more troubling to the agenda of mainstreaming, this study found that some of the current practices in the sport landscape support these historically rooted

[66] Throughout history, sport has been segregated between sport for PWD and the nondisabled. Moreover, it is reported that throughout history a rivalry emerged between disability and mainstream sport clubs (Thomas 2003).

perceptions rather than challenging them. For example, the discussion in Chapter 7 indicates that most international sporting events are still characterised by segregation. These international sporting events are often considered prestigious and are well represented in the media. This is worrying because, the representation of athletes with disabilities in the media is highly questionable, (see Brittain 2012), but more importantly this research found that the segregated image it represents sets an example for the rest of the sport sector and wider society. As Barnes et al. (1999) suggest, there is a much wider acceptance now that media and other cultural representations play a constitutive role in the social definition and reproduction of disability. Indeed, through observational learning and multiple modelling (Elliott and Byrd 1983, 1982), PWD, event organisers, sport clubs and broader society internalise the idea of segregation and are convinced it is condoned by the environment. This implies that if people accept what they see in the media as indicative of the world outside their direct experience, which the findings suggest, the media could mould society's knowledge by appealing to its historical roots. As such, this shows both the limitations of national policy and the need for greater international cooperation on the issue of the inclusion of PWD in a nondisabled sporting environment.

10.2.2. Political environment and austerity

The political and economic conditions were particularly significant for this study. In 2008, a financial crisis, mainly caused by the fact that we had simply spent and borrowed too much, resulted in a global economic downturn that impacted the UK and most countries within the Eurozone (Parnell et al. 2016). In response, governments adopted austerity-driven policy agendas and in the UK, this came to fruition in May 2010 when a Conservative Party-led coalition government assumed political leadership. Austerity is defined as "a form of voluntary deflation in which the economy adjusts through the reduction of wages, prices, and public spending to restore competitiveness, which is (supposedly) best achieved by cutting the state's budget, debts, and deficits" (Blyth 2013: 2). This has resulted in £64bn being removed from the public expenditure by the end of 2013 (Duffy 2013) and a further 20% cut in expenditure was planned between 2014 and 2018 (Croucher 2014).

The sport sector has not been spared in regards to austerity measures with the DCMS incurring a 20% reduction of its budget and a half a billion reduction in spending of local authorities in relation to sport and leisure services (Widdop et al. 2018). However, sport clubs and NGBs are not majorly impacted by these significant reductions. As discussed before, grassroots sport clubs

enjoy their independence as most of their income derives from their members and their volunteer activity. As such, they do not heavily rely on public funding to operate. Additionally, government spending dwarfs in comparison to National Lottery funding, on which NGBs and other sport organisations are heavily reliant. As such, it is mainly state-run initiatives that are cut and have seen raising charges, which in turn can impact on participation, especially in lower income groups, (see Brown and Pappous 2017, Parnell et al. 2015, Widdop et al. 2018 for a more detailed discussion on the impact of austerity on the sport sector). While NGBs and other sport organisations are not heavily impacted by the austerity measures, it must be noted that they might be indirectly impacted when their members have a lower disposable income as a result of austerity.

More importantly for this study is the impact austerity has on the lives and financial situation of PWD. In Britain, austerity measures have resulted in one of the most radical overhauls of the welfare state (Goodley 2014). Essentially, in the form of radical cuts to welfare spending, which have been described as an unprecedented attack on every source of support and help for PWD (Cross 2013). Indeed, it has been argued that spending cuts have directly and disproportionately affected the poor, sick and disabled (Widdop et al. 2018). Moreover, PWD have increasingly been expected to prove their eligibility to access welfare services while there has been an acute narrowing of definitions of impairment which seek to reduce the number of people on welfare benefits (Goodley 2014). Consequently, many of those previously classified as disabled are now seen as being fit for work. As a result, it has been argued that the primary reason for the coalition government to introduce austerity, was to shrink the size of the welfare state rather than to cut the national debt (Krugman 2015). This study shows that one of the many impacts austerity has on the lives of PWD, is a negative impact on sport participation. The combination of scrapping the disability living allowance and the introduction of new tests to measure dis/ability, e.g. the Fitness to Work tests, have PWD scared of participating in sport as they think that they might be considered “able” and lose part or all of their benefits. Amongst the PWD interviewed, Kino summarised these feelings of being afraid to lose her benefits as a result of her sport participation well when she stated:

> “I worry about that, and the more fit and active I become, it is the same for everyone, the more people are scared of losing their benefits” (Kino, PWD-Amputee)

Indeed, the assessment and points-based system used to determine the amount of benefit received does not favour PWD who participate in sport. Sport participation shows PWD in an

often mobile and active environment which could result in a reduction of points towards the benefit scheme. Additionally, many of the positive effects that sport has on the lives of PWD seem to be negatively correlated with the assessment criteria.

A second issue relating to austerity, is that many PWD have lost vehicles since the changes to disability benefits (BBC 2017, Cross 2013). This is a real concern as Kino explained that as a result of the point-based system, previously discussed, and the testing involved, she is scared that her sport participation may result in her car being taken away from her. For her, and probably for many PWD, this would, in addition to restricting the ability to travel to work, limit the ability to travel to sport clubs and venues, and participate in sporting events. Consequently, the findings suggest that losing vehicles as a result of austerity is likely to have a negative impact on the sport participation of PWD, especially with transport being an often cited barrier to their sport participation (Dwyer et al. 2006, Jaarsma et al. 2014).

Lastly, austerity has implications for the way PWD are portrayed in the media. As cuts to the welfare state are politically and publicly unpopular, the government has turned to the media with a concerted negative portrayal of PWD as a way to garnering support for the changes to the disability benefits (Briant et al. 2013, Wood 2012). Just as the document analysis (see Chapter 3) highlighted how the state has historically used disability as a strategy to distinguish between the deserving poor and the undeserving poor, so too is the current UK government approach to disability benefits. PWD who were in the previous system classified as disabled and considered to be genuine recipients of benefits are now in the popular media and in political discourse described as people who have cheated and illegitimately taken from the taxpayer. As mentioned before, if people accept what they see in the media as indicative of the world outside their direct experience, the media could mould society's perception and as such indirectly influence attitudes. As such, negative media coverage of PWD further entrenches the oppression they face in society and further enhances their negative perception of mainstream services not being an option for PWD. Consequently, the negative media attention adds to the perception of mainstream sport as not being an option for PWD.

10.3. Affordability

Affordability describes the availability of financial resources and the financial impact of the implementation of policy which has often been linked to successful implementation (cf. Davies and Mason 1982, O'Toole 1986). However, it was felt necessary to broaden affordability to include the financial situation of the target audience, which for this research is PWD. As such,

this research approached affordability from two perspectives, the financial situation of PWD, and the financial resources available to implement mainstreaming policy.

Looking at the financial situation of PWD, the Training and Coaching Chapter (see chapter 9) discussed the link between poverty and disability, and how this results in PWD finding themselves in a weak financial position. Considering the previous discussion on austerity, it is fair to assume that the financial situation of PWD has not improved, to the contrary, it seems it has worsened in the last few years. Additionally, relevant literature has indicated that the cost of sport participation is a barrier to the participation of both lower income groups and PWD (Allison et al. 2005, Dwyer et al. 2006, Steenhuis et al. 2009). The cost of sport participation is linked to the high cost of membership, access to facilities, transportation and specialised equipment for PWD. This research adds to the existing literature as the findings of the Training and Coaching Chapter indicate that coaches at the grassroots level are increasingly charging PWD for their time. This adds an additional financial barrier to the sport participation of PWD. Moreover, such practice has implications for the perception of the mainstream sport landscape as it can be perceived that PWD are only welcome if they pay for it. Consequently, the practice of coaches expecting PWD to pay for their services has in two ways a negative effect on mainstreaming efforts. However, it must be noted that this is not (yet) common practice amongst sport clubs or sport in general for that matter as this research only found evidence for athletics. This highlights the need for further research which is necessary to understand the extent and implications of such practice and to determine whether it is common practice in various sports.

Furthermore, the findings in the Training and Coaching Chapter indicate a second financial barrier affecting PWD. While not necessarily having an impact on the sport participation of PWD, it was found that certain impairment groups can face additional financial barriers when they want to become a certified coach. This was particularly found to be the case for people with hearing impairments who would find themselves in need of a signer. For many, this could add a significant financial burden in addition to expensive course fees which in general is found to be a barrier to coach education. As such, this research adds to the existing literature on barriers to training and coaching (Armstrong and Weidner 2011, Cushion et al. 2010, Hughes 2005, Townend and North 2007).

Figure 12 Allocation of funds by Sport England between 2012 and 2016 (Sport England 2017a)

Looking at the financial resources available for the implementation of mainstreaming policy, Sport England awards over £300 million a year[67]. Considering this significant amount, it might be naïve to argue for even more funding for grassroots sport provision. However, the distribution of such funding remains debated. Allocation of funding has a significant bias towards NGBs (see Figure 13, above) who, as previously argued, are not only heavily invested in elite sport but are over the years also conditioned to focus on elite performance. Moreover, in support of previous studies (May et al. 2013), this research found that funding rarely makes its way from the NGBs to grassroots sport clubs who are supposed to implement mainstreaming. Furthermore, neither the EFDS nor Sport England directly support grassroots sport clubs. Their investment in disability is rather through dedicated programmes, inclusive training and disability sport events such as the Sainsbury's Inclusive Community Training[68], Instructability[69], Sporting Sense[70] and International Mixed Ability Sports[71].

[67] Sport England awarded £335.3 million during the 2016-2017 financial year (Sport England 2017b)
[68] See http://www.activityalliance.org.uk/inclusivecommunitytraining
[69] See https://www.instructability.org.uk/
[70] See https://www.sense.org.uk/get-support/arts-sport-and-wellbeing/sense-sport/
[71] See http://www.mixedabilitysports.org/

Additionally, this research found that financial resources are not necessarily efficiently managed in the sport landscape. In particular, the findings discussed in the Finding Inclusive Opportunities Chapter (see Chapter 8), indicate that there is a plethora of (inclusive) sport club databases that attempt to do the same thing, while none of them does it very well. Moreover, it was found that many such projects see initial funding for their creation but that afterwards their funding is reduced which allows them to stay online but without a budget for further development, marketing and promotion. It would be useful to have a national approach towards such an inclusive database as a joint effort and a combination of funds could turn the inclusive sport club database into a project that has the awareness and interaction it deserves as most PWD interviewed for this study highlighted the positive effect it could have on changing the perception of mainstream sport clubs. Consequently, such a national inclusive database could positively advance the mainstreaming agenda.

Despite the lack of funding and support available for grassroots sport clubs, specifically in relation to the inclusion of PWD, this research did not find any evidence that mainstreaming would increase the financial pressure on the club. In fact, sport clubs indicated that financial implications would be a consequence of logistical constraints, e.g. lack of pool time or a lack of coaches, rather than the inclusion of PWD. However, this research did find a significant financial barrier in relation to accessible digital communication by sport clubs.

Before addressing the financial implications of accessible digital communication, it is worth noting here that the findings in this research support existing literature in emphasising the importance of digital communication in finding sporting opportunities (EFDS 2013, ONS 2016b). Furthermore, while digital accessibility guidelines and research on digital accessibility exist (see EFDS 2014, Lazar et al. 2004, Schitai 2009, W3C 2017), to the knowledge of this author, no previous research has focused on digital accessibility in the sports sector.

The findings in the Finding Inclusive Opportunities Chapter indicate that accessible digital communication is often lacking within grassroots sport clubs. This is linked to their reliance on volunteers who lack the competence to create accessible digital communication and the lack of financial resources to hire professional web-developers to create accessible digital communication for them. Moreover, this research found that the lack of digital communication has a negative impact on mainstreaming efforts. As such, this research adds to the literature by linking accessible digital communication to the successful implementation of mainstreaming policy.

10.4. Desirability

The Conceptual Framework Chapter (see Chapter 6) discussed the influence of norms and values of organisations and individuals, termed desirability, in relation to the interpretation of policy and consequently to the policy process. Therefore, desirability is a useful concept that helps to understand the attitudes towards policy by examining the disposition of actors. Additionally, this research has incorporated the concept of ableism as a lens to better understand the desirability of actors and organisations in relation to disability. This research confirms existing literature in that the belief system of actors is significant in the interpretation of policy while emphasising the role of ableism in understanding the desirability of actors and organisations in relation to disability. Moreover, it is found that ableism is an integral part in helping to understand the principle-practice gap. A worthwhile distinction can be made between desirability from an ableist nature and those from a non-ableist nature, which for this research can perhaps be best described as organisational goals.

This is perhaps best exemplified in the Mainstreaming Chapter (see Chapter 7), in which the desirability of actors is linked to the understanding of what constitutes mainstreaming. It is found that desirability from both an ableist and non-ableist nature have implications for the understanding of mainstreaming. For example, it is shown that desirability from an ableist nature can result in the understanding of mainstreaming in terms of ability. Such understanding expects PWD to overcome their disability and achieve nondisabled standards of participation to be welcome in the mainstream. It is found that such an understanding which is ableist in nature has profound negative implications to mainstreaming efforts. On the other hand, a disability-specific sport club would seek to protect their niche in the market, a non-ableist desirability, which leads to understanding mainstreaming in terms of choice rather than inclusion. Consequently, the desirability has significant implications for the implementation of mainstreaming policy as depending on the interpretation, actors in the sport landscape work towards different goals which result in PWD having very different experiences with mainstreaming, which are not necessarily considered to be positive ones.

While this research found that there is an increasing support to the idea of mainstreaming and that many sport organisations are making an attempt to address issues of disability in their corporate strategy, in general, the desirability of many sport organisations and actors in the sport landscape was found to have a negative impact on mainstreaming efforts. First, the findings of the Mainstreaming Chapter indicate that desirability has a significant impact on

which PWD are considered to be "worthy" of being mainstreamed. This is not only the result of desirability from an ableist nature, but also from an organisational perspective. Desirability from an ableist nature result in mainstreaming depending on the ability of PWD to overcome their disability and to achieve nondisabled expectations as discussed in Chapter 7. This narrow understanding of inclusion is similar to what DeLuca (2013) described in the educational sector as normative conception. This understanding of inclusivity offers conditional inclusion for PWD, they are allowed to be part of the nondisabled sport as long as they assimilate into the dominant standard. Additionally, desirability from an organisational perspective were also found to influence who is considered for mainstreaming. The sport sector favours elite performance and as such only considers PWD that can be classified. This has negative implications for impairment groups that are not included in the Paralympics or other international and national events.

Secondly, while mainstream sport clubs are increasingly becoming inclusive, albeit in a passive/reactive way, desirability from an ableist nature has profound implications for the way PWD are treated in the sport sector. PWD are often confronted with ableist ideals such as the notion that they are in need of help, in need of protection and are often confronted with others deciding what they can or cannot do. This shows that ableist attitudes as discussed by Hahn (1986) are still relevant in today's society. Interestingly, such perceived ableism leads to PWD turning to both disability sport clubs and mainstream sport clubs. This links back to the organisational structure of both mainstream and disability sport clubs in that they rely heavily on nondisabled volunteers. As such, it is not necessarily the setting that results in PWD experiencing ableism, but the lack of disability literacy in society. Consequently, the findings in this research indicate that ableism not only has a negative impact on mainstreaming efforts but to the sport participation of PWD in general independent of where they choose to participate. Therefore, it not only has a negative impact on the principle-practice gap but on sports participation of PWD in general.

Lastly, this research found that desirability has significant implications for the way coach education is organised. It is perhaps here that the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD is most profound. While coach education has incorporated more emphasis on inclusion, this has been done through the interpretation of inclusion in its broadest understanding. However, it is argued by NGBs that their coaching curricula are "too full" to address the issue of disability head-on. As such, it remains common practice to relegate the issue of disability to CPD courses. This emphasises the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD through

adopting segregation while also putting the issue of disability behind a paywall making it more difficult to access. Furthermore, the results discussed in the Training and Coaching Chapter emphasise that coach education in regards to disability is highly dependent on the desirability of the instructor. Consequently, it was found that it remains common practice to approach disability as "something to tick the box". Therefore, coaches are, perhaps unconsciously, being taught to prioritise nondisabled sport over sport for PWD.

The way that ableism still shapes the sport sector has profound implications for PWD. It is found that these ableist practices result in the internalisation of ableism by PWD. In essence, this results in PWD accepting that they are in need of help and protection, that they need to overcome their disability to be part of the nondisabled environment or believe that they do not belong in a nondisabled environment. This shows that PWD are, similar to other devalued groups, susceptible to internalising ableist stereotypes and negative beliefs and "perform ableism" in relation to themselves and other PWD (Campbell 2008). However, it is noteworthy that this research found that some coaches truly go above and beyond for PWD (see for example the coach that learned sign language to be able to effectively communicate with his Deaf athlete on page 197) which is especially demonstrated in the support coaches show in regards to PWD becoming coaches themselves. Furthermore, there are representatives of sport clubs who see mainstreaming as an opportunity to build an identity across both the nondisabled and PWD based on the sport they mutually participate in.

In conclusion, ableism remains deeply embedded in society through organisational processes and the desirability of actors. In Support of Brittain and Beacom (2016), the findings in this research indicate that the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD is found to be embedded throughout the sport landscape, including grassroots sport, elite sport and coach education. Furthermore, while it has been suggested by Thomas (2004: 119) that key actors' ideologies of disability may have a significant impact on the emergence and development of disability sport policy as they act in accordance to their own norms and values, this research extends these findings to the process of policy implementation as the three result chapters indicate that the desirability of key actors has a significant impact on the implementation of mainstreaming policy. Additionally, this research indicates the prevalence of ableism in society and the sport sector. Moreover, it shows the significant impact ableism has on the implementation of mainstreaming policy and as such, the importance of ableism to analyse the implementation of disability-related policy. In the case of this study, it is found that the

prevalence of ableism contributes to the principle-practice gap by hindering the advancement of the implementation of mainstreaming policy.

10.5. Communicability

Communication is a key process in the implementation of policy, however, the literature which relates to communication within implementation is sparse (Schofield 2001). This research attempts to address that gap by including communication theory in the conceptual framework and applying it to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. The results of this research indicate that communication in relation to mainstreaming policy is lacking in two critical areas, communication from the sport sector to the target audience of policy, i.e. PWD, and communication between various organisations in the sport sector. Furthermore, the results indicate that issues in communication are useful in understanding the principle-practice gap.

The findings discussed in the Communication Chapter (see Chapter 8) indicate that the mainstream sport sector has a historically rooted image of not being accessible to PWD. As a result, PWD do not necessarily consider mainstream sport clubs as an option when looking for sporting opportunities. This highlights a communication issue between the sport landscape and PWD as mainstream sport fails to communicate an inclusive message welcoming PWD. Of particular interest to this research is digital communication of sport clubs as the findings indicate that the current approach to digital communication tends to confirm the historical image of mainstream clubs not being an option for PWD. The findings indicate that digital communication is characterised by an ableist approach which results in two issues: (1) digital communication is often not accessible to certain impairment groups and (2) digital communication often lacks any notion of disability in its communication. Consequently, digital communication does not convey an inclusive message but instead enforces the historical perception of mainstream sport not being an option for PWD.

The findings of this research highlight shortcomings in policy to address digital accessibility. While digital accessibility is considered under “reasonable adjustment” of the EQA 2010, it remains shrouded in ambiguity and unclear whether it applies to non-profit sport organisations. In addition, it seems that digital accessibility is rarely enforced in the UK (White and Gabriel 2012). Considering the ambiguity and lack of enforcement of digital accessibility, it is perhaps not surprising that the findings of this research indicate that policy regarding the rights of PWD, as well as guidelines mandating digital accessibility, have not assured full access to digital information for PWD in the sport sector. These findings are similar to the findings of Schitai

(2009) who observed the issue of ableist biases in digital accessibility of higher education. As such, the issue of accessible digital communication is not unique to the sport sector but perhaps a broader issue in society. The situation in the sport landscape is not helped by the fact that digital accessibility seems to be missing from mainstreaming policy and Sport England's strategy. The ambiguity and absence of policy in regard to the accessibility of digital communication is apparent in the sport sector with most representatives of sport clubs indicating that their digital communication does not consider accessibility. Moreover, many representatives were oblivious to the fact that accessibility barriers could exist in the digital environment and approached the issue from their nondisabled perspective. The lack of inclusivity in communication of sport clubs could be interpreted as them ignoring or hiding their inclusive nature as many sport clubs were found to have at least some members with disabilities.

Despite the lack of policy and the ambiguity whether current legislation applies to non-profit sport clubs, this research found a disconnect between existing policy objectives and the target audience in relation to the digital environment. Existing policy tends to focus on technical accessibility and adherence to accessibility guidelines. However, the respondents emphasised the importance of addressing PWD through an inclusive message and to communicate the accessibility features of the club. While the EFDS does support the use of inclusive pictures and language, their inclusive communication guides do not seem to reach the grassroots sport clubs. Additionally, there seems to be an appetite from PWD for a more direct approach to communication. They expect to find an access statement detailing the accessibility features, potential barriers and disability support available in a mainstream club. This is in a similar fashion to the access statement that is currently being implemented as part of the accessible stadia initiative in the Premier League (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2017).

Looking at the current state of digital accessibility in the sport sector, most representatives of sport clubs indicated that their digital communication is neither accessible nor conveying an inclusive message and remains dominated by a nondisabled perspective. Moreover, the findings of this research indicate that the current ableist approach to digital communication further alienates PWD from the mainstream sport sector. As such, issues of digital communication in the sport sector have a negative impact on the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy. Therefore, to further advance mainstreaming it is important to address the accessibility and inclusivity of digital communication. Not only will it be an important step in changing the

perceptions of mainstream sport clubs, it will also be a first step in creating a welcoming environment for PWD.

As highlighted above, the EFDS promotes the use of inclusive language and images of PWD in the communication of sport clubs. Furthermore, the EFDS has created an inclusive communication guide and other materials that can be used to assist organisations in addressing their communication. However, the findings of this research indicate that such information does not reach the grassroots sport clubs. Moreover, in findings similar to Harris et al. (2009) and May et al. (2013), many representatives of grassroots clubs are simply unaware of sport policy and specifically of mainstreaming policy. Additionally, representatives highlighted a general lack of communication and support from NGBs in relation to the inclusion of PWD. For example, one representative stated that their involvement in the study was the first ever communication they received about mainstreaming policy:

> "You know, listening to you is probably the first I have heard about mainstreaming policy" (Ashe, Athletic Club)

In comparison to mainstream sport policy, communication related to mainstreaming and disability often adds an additional layer to the communication process. For example, communication of the availability and usefulness of the inclusive communication guidelines developed by the EFDS, would follow the communication stream displayed by Figure 13, below. Similarly, it was found that inclusive sport club databases are also the victim of the directive distortion problem as they rely on the same lengthy and fragmented communication stream as shown in Figure 13, below. This is found to be problematic and undermining the usefulness of such communication tools as they rely heavily on the voluntary subscription of grassroots sport clubs.

Figure 13 Communication stream for disability-related policy

The findings of this research suggest that the primary reason why so many clubs are unaware or hold outdated views of mainstreaming policy is either (1) a lack of engagement or poor inter-organisational communication between sport clubs and national organisations such as the NGBs

and Sport England, i.e. a directive distortion problem or (2) a result of ableism in the sport sector which seeks the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD. Harris (2008) and May et al. (2013) found similar results in that some mainstream clubs were unaware of sport policy because communication had not reached that far; "no one had informed them" (Harris 2008: 38). The sport club representatives interviewed for this research reinforced this view stating that their relationship with the NGBs is "limited" and that they do not receive any communication regarding participation of PWD despite mainstreaming being considered as a policy priority. Or as Braum, a representative of an athletics club stated:

> "Unless people come and approach us, then we probably would not know about mainstreaming"

The findings of this research provide an alternative in that communication in the sport landscape remains characterised by ableism and sees a prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD. Consequently, communication in the mainstream sport sector is found to be characterised by information for the nondisabled while information relating to PWD is largely absent and neglected. This was particularly shown in the results discussed in the Training and Coaching Chapter which indicated that, in athletics, sport clubs receive information on development opportunities related to nondisabled sport while they did not receive any information on disability-related opportunities. It must be noted that in swimming most representatives were aware of disability CPDs and indicated that they receive communication about them. Considering these findings, this research provides evidence to suggest that digital accessibility and the communication of an inclusive message through digital communication should be made a priority in addressing the current non-accessible image of the mainstream sport sector.

10.6. Feasibility

While desirability was a useful lens that helped to understand the implications of the actors' norms and values, feasibility provides a lens to help understand the implications of the competence of these actors in addition to the availability of human resources. Previous literature has linked a deficit in the various elements of feasibility to failure in the implementation phase of policy (Coalter 2007, Elezi 2013, Murphy 1991). Indeed, this research found that deficits in the availability and competence of human resources has profound implications for the implementation of mainstreaming policy.

Consistent with previous research (Donaldson et al. 2011, Nichols et al. 2005, Sport and Recreation Alliance 2016, Taylor et al. 2003), this research found that volunteering in the sport

sector is under pressure. As the results in the Training and Coaching Chapter indicate, both small and large sport clubs struggle with attracting enough volunteers and coaches. This has a negative impact on the workings of the club and their willingness to engage with mainstreaming policy. Grassroots sport clubs perceive that they are working at full capacity for the amount of staff that they currently have. Consequently, this has implications for mainstreaming as sport clubs can not only be pickier in accepting members to the club, it also means that sport clubs are reluctant to engage with PWD, who are often considered to be more time consuming and demanding in terms of logistics.

While existing literature has indicated that many coaches lack the competence to coach PWD (Dorogi et al. 2008, Robbins et al. 2010), this has largely been approached from the coaches perspective. This research adds to the existing literature by providing evidence that PWD experience this lack of knowledge in practice. Moreover, it is found that abeist attitudes are to some extent linked to a lack of disability knowledge. Indeed, it seems that in the absence of disability knowledge and an understanding of how to approach the coaching of PWD, coaches tend to fall back on ableist attitudes taught to them by society, including feeling sorry for PWD and believing that they are in need of protection. It is noteworthy that a lack of disability literacy and ableist attitudes were experienced in both the mainstream and disability sport clubs. The results of the Mainstreaming Chapter indicate that this is linked to the organisational structure of disability sport clubs who, in a similar fashion as mainstream clubs, rely on nondisabled volunteers. Additionally, the lack of disability knowledge and ableist attitudes are found to have a negative impact on the experience that PWD have in a mainstream sport club. This in turn has a negative impact on the perception that PWD have of mainstream sport provision (i.e. they start to believe that mainstream sport clubs are not a place for PWD) which can lead to internalised-ableism and has a negative impact on the self-esteem and self-efficacy of PWD which reduces the likelihood that they remain actively involved in sport. As such, a lack of disability knowledge does not only have an adverse effect on mainstreaming policy, it has a potentially negative effect on the overall sport participation aims.

The results of this research, as discussed in the Training and Coaching Chapter, indicate that the lack of competence in training and coaching PWD is partially related to the absence of disability in formal coach education. This despite the findings of this research indicating that many representatives of national sport organisations, such as the YST, UK coaching and various NDSOs support the idea of integrating disability in the main curricula rather than organising separate

CPDs. Furthermore, the findings of this research support existing literature (see Dorogi et al. 2008), indicating that many coaches believe that disability should be part of the main curricula. The lack of disability in coach education was largely confirmed by the coaches interviewed, though, coach education is time-bound and some NGBs have more recently attempted to address this gap in coach education through a revision of the coach curricula. However, despite such revision, coaches who recently engaged in formal coach education and coach instructors who are currently active in educating coaches did not perceive there is currently more attention to disability. Moreover, the few coaches who did notice disability-related aspects in the curricula felt it was largely skipped or neglected. A possible explanation is the broad approach NGBs take to inclusion without necessarily addressing disability head-on. As such, it is perhaps best to begin with incorporating disability into the main curricula rather than through separate CPDs. In the long run, when there is a better awareness of disability in society and in the interest of improving the quality, the subject could be treated as a separate CPD. However, it does seem practical to keep specialised courses such as wheelchair racing as a CPD as they could be viewed as a different sport altogether.

The lack of disability knowledge was however not unique to coaches and the coaching of PWD. The results of the Communication Chapter indicate that a lack of disability knowledge has implications for the understanding of accessibility. This was found to be most profound in relation to the accessibility of digital communication. While most sport clubs showed some understanding in physical accessibility, they were largely clueless about accessibility in relation to the digital environment. Moreover, non-profit sport clubs do not have the funds to hire professionals to develop their digital communication. It must be noted that there is some evidence that indicates that professionals also lack disability knowledge and are not necessarily able or willing to create accessible digital communication.

Considering these findings, there is evidence to suggest that society in general is lacking disability knowledge as the lack of disability knowledge and the impact it has on inclusion and the quality of service provision is also perceived outside of the sport landscape, for example in education (Burke and Sutherland 2004) and healthcare (Kroll et al. 2006). Therefore, a broader approach to disability awareness should be considered that is not necessarily limited to the sport sector. Having discussed and concluded on the elements of the conceptual framework, we can now turn to a more substantive analysis of the research's theoretical and methodological insights.

10.7. Theoretical and methodological insights

This section centres on assessing the salience of the study's theoretical and methodological insights set out in the Literature Review (see Chapters 2-4) and Methodology Chapter (see Chapter 5). In short, have the cluster of theoretical and methodological lenses helped us in our exploration of mainstreaming in grassroots sport policy in the UK. The consideration here centres primarily on the use of the conceptual framework laid out in the Conceptual Framework Chapter (see Chapter 6) and displayed in a simplified matter in Figure 14, below. However, it is also important to reflect upon the macro-level of theorising, as well as how these two might be integrated. This is considered first, before going on to explore in more depth the usefulness of the conceptual framework in regards to the analysis of mainstreaming policy in the sport sector.

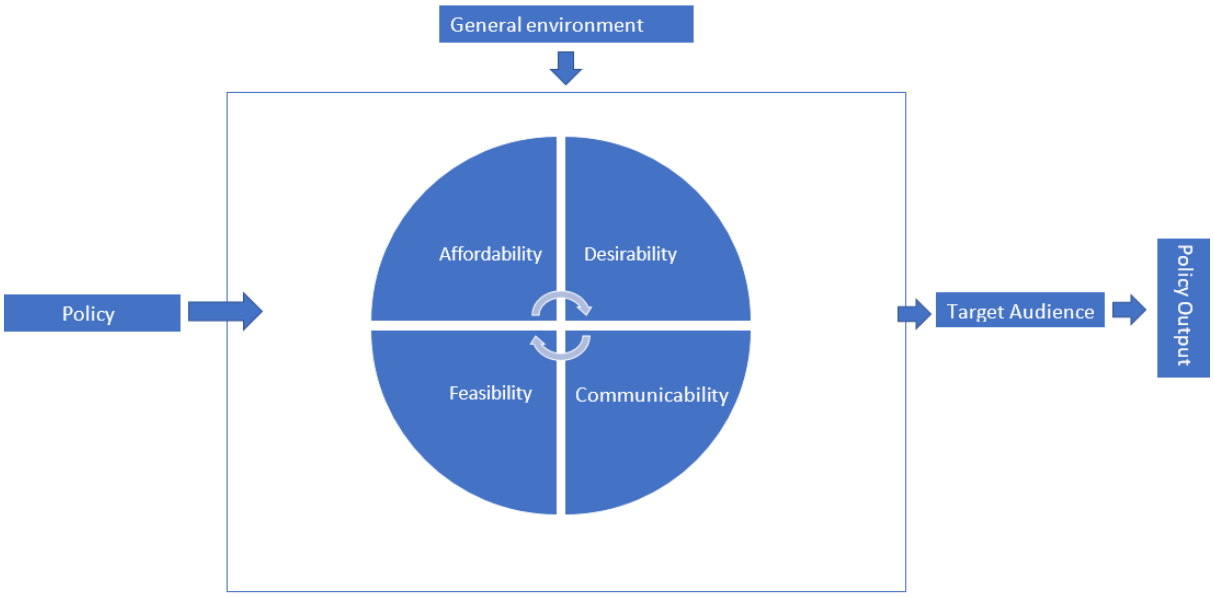


Figure 14 Conceptual framework simplified

This research has proposed that a better understanding of mainstreaming policy implementation can be gained through a meso-level analysis underpinned by neo-pluralist assumptions. It is worthwhile to revisit the three main principles of neo-pluralism as laid out by Green (2003):

a) there is an active participation of the state in the policy process,
b) emphasis on independent groups of multiple interests and,
c) a favourable position exists for business interests and powerful groups.

Indeed, this research provides evidence that supports a neo-pluralist understanding of the state concerning mainstreaming policy. Local level implementation has been shaped by a context

exhibiting increased government involvement for sport through direct involvement of the DCMS or through arm's length organisations such as Sport England and UK Sport. Furthermore, the sport sector remains characterised by a multitude of independent organisations that express multiple interests and objectives. Lastly, while there was no evidence of a favourable position for business interests, this research shows that the sport sector does favour powerful groups such as those with a vested interest in elite performance and nondisabled sport. Thus, sport for PWD remains in a subordinate position. This subordinate position was clearly evidenced throughout this research for which the lens of ableism was particularly useful. Ableism emphasised the prioritisation of nondisabled and elite sport over sport for PWD and grassroots participation.

McDonald has argued that we are witnessing "a qualitative shift in the sports-participation culture away from the egalitarian and empowering aspirations of community-based sporting activity to a hierarchical and alienating culture of high-performance port" (2000: 84). His analysis draws attention to the type of concerns raised throughout the interviews conducted for this research which indeed show an emphasis on high-performance sport. It was particularly expressed that NGBs are primarily concerned with elite performance which created the perception that mainstreaming efforts are just another tool in realising elite performance objectives. For example, Braum, a representative from an athletics club argued that they only see or hear the NGB in relation to athletes with disabilities when there is a promising para-athlete, who is then taken away and put on the performance pathway which could even be in a different sport. Additionally, the findings in the Mainstreaming Chapter indicate that some actors in the sport sector have developed and adapted mainstreaming policy to fit with a more performance-oriented mind-set (see mainstreaming as ability, page 121). This fits with Lewis' (2000) view of society, in that those who occupy a position of authority (here those who favour elite and nondisabled sport) are better able to impose their meanings and narratives on others than people who are in a subordinate position. Considering the findings in light of neo-pluralism it seems that, in support of findings from Green (2003), the actions that people choose to undertake are, to some extent, shaped by the requirements of elite sport and, specifically, the requirement of the performance pathways.

This neo-pluralist understanding is a basic assumption on which the conceptual framework is built. Indeed, the conceptual framework offers a method of analysing policy which recognises that policy can be affected by a diverse range of groups with varying degrees of influence. In this

regard, the conceptual framework, as set out in Chapter 6 and shown in Figure 8 page 106, provides an interesting insight into the policy process. Additionally, the Conceptual Framework Chapter asumed linkage between the filtering variables (see Section 6.8). Indeed, the findings of this research confirm these linkages and show that these variables should not be seen as independent. This is demonstrated throughout the foregoing discussion on the filtering variables. For example, affordability was linked to desirability in that a great part of the funds available are allocated to NGBs who favour elite performance and nondisabled sport. This in turn was linked to the environment in which the NGBs operate and the historical role NGBs have occupied in the sport sector. Such linkages between the various aspects of the conceptual framework were observable throughout the findings of this research. As such, the linkages from the Conceptual Framework Chapter hold true.

A second key theoretical contribution is the inclusion of ableism in the conceptual framework which proved to be particularly fruitful in the analysis of mainstreaming policy. While ableism has proved useful as an analytical lens (see Hutcheon and Wolbring 2012, Kearney et al. 2017), to the knowledge of this author it has not been used in relation to policy implementation (see Johansson 2010, O'Toole 1986, Skille and Stenling 2017). However, this research successfully demonstrates the importance of ableism in the analysis of mainstreaming policy as it helped to understand the actions or lack of action by actors in the sport landscape while it also helped in understanding some of the experiences of PWD as demonstrated throughout the three result chapters (see Chapters 7-9) and this Discussion Chapter (see Chapter 10). Ableism was incorporated in the conceptual framework in two ways, (1) it was used as a lens to understand the desirability and action of actors in the sport landscape. For example, coaches treating PWD differently as a result of their perceived disability as results discussed in the Mainstreaming Chapter indicated. And (2) it was used as a lens to look at the environment in which policy operates, e.g. organisational structures and society. For example, the Training and Coaching Chapter brought attention to the way formal coach education is structured. This was found to be structured in a way that favours nondisabled sport and in doing so shows signs of ableism.

A review of the available implementation literature conducted by Skille and Stenling (2017) revealed that conceptually and empirically it stops at the end implementer (c.f. May et al. 2013), meaning that the target audience is not considered in the study of policy implementation. Nevertheless, this study has shown the importance of the target audience in the analysis of policy implementation and included this in the conceptual framework as the last filtering

variable. However, considering the findings of this research and reflecting on the conceptual framework, the target audience is possibly not the last filtering variable before policy implementation as the conceptual framework suggested. It is perhaps more correct to view the target audience as part of the key stakeholders to which the framework is applied. Indeed ,the linear approach first suggested, identified the target audience as the last filtering variable and seemed to suggest that the target audience is a passive receiver of policy implementation as suggested in a top-down vision of implementation (Hupe et al. 2014). However, this research indicates that the target audience, in this case, PWD, are actively involved in the implementation process. For example, as the Training and Coaching Chapter indicates, PWD can positively or negatively influence the desirability of coaches which in turn is found to have an impact on policy implementation.

Furthermore, this research suggests that all the variables of the conceptual framework not only apply to the key stakeholders of the policy-making, policy translation and policy implementation phase, but that it applies to the target audience as well. Additionally, the impact of the target audience on policy implementation is better understood through the filtering variables of the conceptual framework. For example, the findings discussed in the Mainstreaming Chapter show the impact that the desirability of PWD can have on the implementation of mainstreaming policy as there are some PWD who have a preference to participate in disability sport clubs rather than in the mainstream. As such it is better to incorporate the target audience within the stakeholders of the sport sector and policy process. Indeed, stakeholder analysis has previously identified parts of the target audience, those who are participating or members, within the sport sector as key actors (see Hoye and Cuskelly 2007).

Lastly, it was suggested that the conceptual framework is a lens through which one can view policy in an attempt to better understand its implementation. However, as a result of the analysis done for this research, it seems more appropriate to view the conceptual framework as a lens which can be used to analyse key stakeholders of a shared goal or objective, which for this research is mainstreaming policy. Viewing the conceptual framework in this sense could possibly allow its application to a broader range of cases that are not necessarily public policy. For example, it could find a use in project management which involves various stakeholders with a vested interest in a common goal. In order to apply the conceptual framework, it is important to conduct a stakeholder analysis to identify the various groups affecting the objective under

investigation, to which the conceptual framework is then applied. Figure 15, below, shows the revisited conceptual framework that takes into consideration the above discussion.

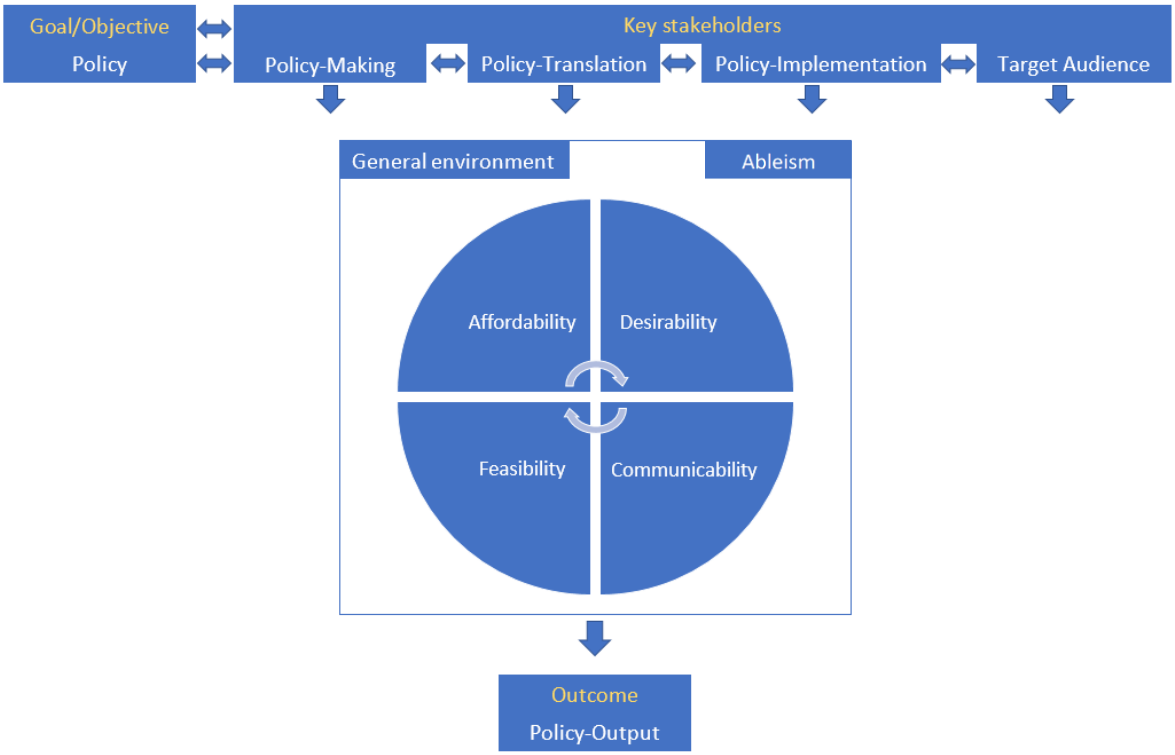


Figure 15 Conceptual framework revisited

In conclusion, the conceptual framework proved useful in understanding the principle-practice gap. As the three result Chapters and this discussion chapter have shown, the conceptual framework has been successful in providing a better understanding of the actions of key stakeholders involved in mainstreaming policy.

Chapter 11. Conclusion and Recommendations

This purpose of this thesis was to generate a better understanding in the principle-practice gap of mainstreaming policy. Additionally, the research objective was to identify and provide a better understanding in the components and their interrelationship underpinning the principle-practice gap. This project fulfilled these research aims and objectives. The research aim and objective was fulfilled by developing and utilising the conceptual framework to critically analyse mainstreaming in the United Kingdom's grassroots sport sector. The conceptual framework discussed the potential influence of: policy formulation, the environment, desirability, affordability, feasibility, communicability and the stakeholders on the implementation of mainstreaming policy. This thesis explored the relationship between the aforementioned factors and their impact on the implementation of mainstreaming policy, particularly within athletics and swimming. The findings of this research underpin the importance of the factors identified in the conceptual framework and their influence is demonstrated throughout this thesis.

In light of the research findings (Chapters 7-9) and the ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning this research (Chapter 5), the use of document analysis and qualitative research methods, in the form of a survey and semi-structured interviews, can be considered both relevant and beneficial. The preliminary data obtained through surveys provided an initial understanding of the principle-practice gap, particularly by highlighting the low participation of PWD in mainstream sport clubs, see page 125. Furthermore, the survey provided useful in informing the questions for the semi-structured interviews in addition to providing a fertile resource to the understanding of the principle-practice gap in mainstreaming policy.

This research could have been carried out in a number of ways. Initially, this research was designed to be a comparative analysis between athletics and swimming (see Research Methodology, page 73). However, after preliminary data analysis it became apparent that the issues underlying the principle practice gap were apparent in both swimming and athletics. Taking this into consideration, a different research design was pursued that draws on both swimming and athletics to underpin the findings. This has perhaps strengthened this research in that both athletics and swimming largely conform and support the findings. Taking this into consideration the author is confident that using both sports provided an adequate understanding of the principle-practice gap and as such addressed the research aims and objectives.

The empirical results of this research have, through critical analysis, generated a sociological understanding of disability and grassroots sport within the context of mainstreaming. Analysis of the individual perceptions regarding mainstreaming (see Chapter 7) gave an insight into the way mainstreaming is understood by actors in the sport landscape and by people with disabilities. Research findings suggested that, currently, there are three dominant perceptions to mainstreaming (see Section 7.1.1) which have a significant influence on how mainstreaming is approached in practice. These perceptions of mainstreaming can be understood within the various models of disability. The perception of mainstreaming in terms of ability has roots within the medical model of disability and shows how the medical model remains influential in the sport sector. This perspective is of an ableist nature as PWD are held to a nondisabled norm and only those who can reach this norm and, in a way, overcome their disability should be mainstreamed.

On the other hand, the perceptions of mainstreaming in terms of inclusion and choice are embedded in a social model of disability and show a more open attitude towards the inclusion of PWD in the mainstream sport sector. While the perception of inclusion focussed on the integration of PWD in a nondisabled setting, the perception of choice includes an important role for disability specific sport clubs in addition to the integration of PWD in a nondisabled setting. The distinction between the various perceptions of mainstreaming highlighted an important limitation of how mainstreaming policy is currently lacking a long-term vision. The lack of a long-term vision enables organisations to take a self-preserving attitude towards mainstreaming which as the results of this thesis have shown are limiting the implementation of mainstreaming.

It is noteworthy that within the perception of inclusion, there was one particular strand that is promising for the future. Some interviewees perceived mainstreaming as a tool to develop a common identity constructed based on a common sport rather than on the distinction between disabled and nondisabled. This perception can be understood within the affirmative model of disability (see Section 2.2.3) which emphasises the positive identity PWD have and embraces the right to be the way they are, to be equal but different. This perception of mainstreaming, if successfully implemented could be a successful step in advancing mainstreaming, but, perhaps more importantly, could serve as an exemplary case in addressing ableism in broader society.

However, as the findings of this research have shown, the perceptions of mainstreaming are not necessarily a representation of the situation in the field. This became particularly apparent in Chapters 7 and 8. It was found that, in practice, all elements of the conceptual framework have

important implications for the implementation of mainstreaming as well (see the Discussion Chapter). The main problem identified in the Communication Chapter was that PWD do not necessarily know where to find sporting opportunities. The results indicate that the underlying cause is a combination of the perceptions that PWD hold of the mainstream sport landscape, in that they perceive it as not being an option for them, and the sport landscape that fails to communicate effectively their openness towards PWD. Moreover, it is this second issue that contributes to maintaining the perception that PWD hold regarding the mainstream sport sector in the first place. The lack of efficient communication was however not only apparent between the sport sector and PWD but between the various organisations within the sport sector. The directive-distortion problem has here significant implications in combination with the ableist tendency of the sport sector to prioritise sport for the nondisabled and elite over sport for PWD and the grassroots.

Despite the difficulties in findings mainstream sporting opportunities by PWD, there are those who do take a chance within mainstream sport. As the findings of the Training and Coaching Chapter indicate, once PWD do find their way into a mainstream sport club, the relationship between the athlete and coach becomes very influential on the experience of PWD in the mainstream. On a positive note, this thesis illustrated how some coaches truly go above and beyond for PWD (see page 197) and how representatives of sport clubs show an openness to equity and inclusion. However, it was found that too often PWD are confronted with coaches who show ableist perceptions and attitudes which result in negative experiences often for both the athlete with a disability and the coach. It was found that such interaction can then lead to them internalising ableist perceptions of mainstreaming.

What all three result chapters and the discussion chapter have in common, is that they emphasise the disability illiteracy in the sport sector and the profound implications this has on many aspects of sports delivery. In addition, the prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD leads to a lack of attention to disability in communication and education within the sport sector and, perhaps, outside of the sport sector a prioritisation of services for the nondisabled take priority over services for PWD as well. It is fair to say that the advancement of mainstreaming policy is constrained by disability illiteracy in the sport sector and broader society, and the prioritisation of sport for the nondisabled and elite over sport for PWD and the grassroots.

On a final note, this research provides a bridge between the realms of disability studies and socio-political research into the mainstreaming movement in the grassroots sport sector. It seems that there is a growing appetite for mainstreaming and that many representatives of sport organisations are open towards greater inclusion of PWD. However, key actors remain characterised by their disability illiteracy which often translates into ableist attitudes and perceptions. Furthermore, they often find themselves without support to facilitate the dramatic change expected from mainstreaming policy which is further complicated by the fragmentation of the sport landscape that still struggles to communicate effectively. Where positive relationships do exist between people with disability, their coach and club, mainstreaming seems to thrive. Furthermore, to end on a positive note, both the idea of creating a mutual identity based on sport rather than on the distinction between being disabled or nondisabled and the establishment of hybrid sport clubs are promising for the future.

11.1. Recommendations for policy and practice

The findings contained in this research have a number of practical applications that may be of interest to those involved with mainstreaming, whether at the policy making stage, translation or implementation phase. I would like to propose recommendations in three areas that could have a positive impact on the ongoing mainstreaming efforts. These areas run parallel with the result chapters and are: changing attitudes; finding inclusive sporting opportunities and; training and coaching.

Changing attitudes

The findings of this research indicate a lack of disability awareness amongst the representatives of sport organisations, coaches and, perhaps, in broader society as a whole. This lack of awareness often translates into ableist attitudes and perceptions, which have a negative impact on the attitudes towards PWD. Considering there is a wealth of research underpinning the suggestion that attitudes towards disability and PWD are more likely to improve if there are more opportunities for PWD and those who are nondisabled to have positive interactions in everyday life (Aiden and McCarthy 2014), paradoxically, these interactions are unlikely to happen when many people hold negative attitudes in the first place. Considering some of the findings of this research, this does not look likely to change anytime soon. Looking at today's society, it is surprising how few such opportunities there are and even fewer that are actively being promoted. As such, it is highly recommended that more opportunities are created and promoted that brings PWD and the nondisabled together and allows for positive interactions to

occur. Moreover, this emphasises the importance of mainstreaming policy and supports striving towards more inclusivity.

Despite the lack of disability awareness, this research does indicate that attitudes have positively changed within the sport sector. This was shown through an increasing support of the idea of mainstreaming and with many sport organisations making an attempt to address issues of disability in their corporate strategy. In the field, however, many sport clubs remain apprehensive towards the idea of greater inclusion and take a reactive rather than proactive approach in terms of mainstreaming and the inclusion of PWD. Moreover, the results indicate that, in general, the desirability of many sport organisations and actors in the sport landscape remain to negatively impact mainstreaming efforts. It was found that one of the main reasons behind this negative impact is the many different understandings actors in the sport landscape hold regarding what constitutes mainstreaming. In essence, organisations (mis)interpret mainstreaming in a way that fits the objectives of the club and/or personal opinion which is often ableist in nature. These different perspectives of mainstreaming have profound implication on which PWD are considered by the club to be "worthy" of being mainstreamed. Therefore, it is recommended that the organisations influential in mainstreaming policy, particularly the government, Sport England and the Activity Alliance, define better what exactly they mean by mainstreaming, what they are attempting to achieve with mainstreaming and what they expect the situation to be when mainstreaming policy is successfully accomplished. The lack of clear language in this regard facilitates organisation to include only those PWD who do not differ too much from their nondisabled members and as such, limits the scope of mainstreaming.

Furthermore, this research shows that it is not only the attitudes and perceptions of the nondisabled that need to be addressed but those of PWD as well. The results show that PWD do not consider mainstream opportunities as they are considered to be inaccessible and inappropriate for PWD. This is perhaps not surprising considering the historical development of sport for PWD and the historical segregation of services. As such, my recommendation calls for more cooperation within the sport sector in relation to communication between various organisations, particularly between the sport sector, healthcare sector and disability sector. The reason for this is twofold. First, the findings indicate that many PWD do not know where to look for sporting opportunities and would not consider the mainstream sport sector. And secondly, as the example of Daphne (see Section 7.4 page 145) illustrated, some PWD are part of a

"closed" community with limited links and communication to the nondisabled world. Working with disability and healthcare organisations can help in signposting PWD to mainstream sport organisations and could be a step towards positively changing the perception of mainstream sport and as such address both aforementioned points.

Lastly, it is important to keep an international outlook as many mega-events and international competitions remain characterised by segregation. Considering the findings of the Mainstreaming chapter, the segregated image these sporting events represent have a negative impact on the perception of national event organisers and broader society. The segregation of such events creates the perception that segregation is the norm. It is only through international collaboration that the segregated nature of prestigious sporting events can be addressed. A particularly good example in this sense are the Commonwealth Games which are not only organised in a hybrid fashion but also have a common medal tally while it occasionally sees the participation of PWD in nondisabled disciplines. It is recommended that the government reviews its Gold Framework[72] in an attempt to bring together events for PWD and the nondisabled as has happened with the World Championships in Athletics 2017 that brought the IAAF and IPC World Championships to London. Furthermore, it is recommended that the government promotes and supports the hosting of national championships and events in a hybrid format. Considering the sport sector remains characterised by a prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD, this would not only send a strong signal that mainstreaming is considered the way forward, but would also make the UK a leading example in terms of disability equality at the elite level.

Finding sporting opportunities

As evidenced throughout this research, it remains difficult for PWD to find sporting opportunities and particularly mainstream sporting opportunities. Two recommendations are proposed in terms of making it easier for PWD to find such opportunities and as such advance the mainstreaming agenda.

My first recommendation in this regard proposes to make accessible and inclusive digital communication a priority. In today's society, the digital environment is the main recourse in finding information on sporting opportunities. However, sport clubs, and other organisations for

[72] Prestigious project initiated by the DCMS which has as goal to attract top level international sporting events to the UK between 2013 and 2023.

that matter, are failing twofold in this regard. (1) Digital communication remains inaccessible for many PWD, in essence, it is missing technical accessibility features (see W3C 2017b) to accommodate PWD. In light of these findings, it is necessary to provide clarity whether the technical accessibility of digital communication of grassroots sport clubs falls under "reasonable" adjustment as required by the EQA 2010 and its code of practice (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2011, Great Britain Parliament 2010). The position of this author is that it should be considered under the EQA as it is not only the first point of contact for many PWD but often the only way that such vital information is communicated by grassroots sport clubs. As such, sport clubs should be stimulated to address their digital communication and bring it in line with the technical accessibility features. However, as the results indicate that sport clubs neither have the financial means nor expertise to address this, it might be necessary to allocate funding that clubs can apply for in order to address their online accessibility.

And (2), digital communication remains dominated by a nondisabled message targeting existing and potential nondisabled members. Thus, there is a need for awareness raising amongst grassroots sport clubs that their current method of communication maintains the status-quo in that it upholds the perception that the mainstream sport landscape is not a place for PWD. Considering the findings of this research, a more head-on approach is suggested which implies that sport organisations communicate directly to PWD. This could take the form of publishing an access statement, in a similar fashion to the one that is currently being implemented in the Premier League. Additionally, the development of a disability friendly quality label could create awareness and incentivise sport organisations to address disability more directly. This could be linked to a unified sport club database that would provide PWD with the information they need to find mainstream sport opportunities.

This brings me to my second recommendation; this research provides evidence that financial resources are not necessarily efficiently managed in the sport landscape. This was particularly evidenced through the example of the (inclusive) sport club databases. It was found that a plethora of such databases exist which attempt to do the same thing. However, it was argued that none of them do it very well. There was also indication that many such projects see initial funding for their creation but that this funding is rapidly reduced to the point that they can remain online but without a budget for further development, marketing and promotion. It would be useful to have a national approach towards such an inclusive database, as a joint effort and a combination of funds could turn the inclusive sport club database into a project that has

the awareness and interaction it deserves as most PWD interviewed for this study highlighted the positive effect it could have, particularly on changing the perception of mainstream sport clubs. Consequently, such a national inclusive database could positively advance the mainstreaming agenda, especially when combined with a quality label that can reassure PWD even more.

Training and Coaching

First, this research evidenced the lack of skills and knowledge of coaches in training PWD. This was found to be related to the lack of disability awareness of coaches. Secondly, this research showed that the sport sector remains characterised by a prioritisation of nondisabled sport over sport for PWD, which was found to have a further negative impact on the skills and knowledge base of coaches in relation to training PWD. Three recommendations are proposed to address some of the highlighted issues.

The first recommendation is that the disability illiteracy in the sport sector should be addressed through coach education. It is imperative that formal coach education includes the topic of disability within the main curricula. The reluctance of NGBs to address disability more head-on has an adverse effect and has the potential to facilitate ableist perceptions and maintain the status-quo. Particularly the practice of segregating disability away from the main curricula in CPDs has to stop. Additionally, education for those delivering coach education requires more attention and emphasis on disability as recent changes to the coach curricula have not necessarily resulted in better disability literacy amongst coaches.

Secondly, the findings indicated that some coaches within grassroots sport clubs are charging PWD in particular for their time. This adds an additional financial barrier to the sport participation of PWD. Moreover, such practice has implications for the perception of the mainstream sport landscape as it can be perceived that PWD are only welcome if they pay for it. As such, it is recommended that this practice is condemned and discouraged. Perhaps it would be possible for coaches/clubs to sign up to a voluntary code of good practice in which this practice is discouraged. It would also be possible to address such issues within the existing UK Governance Code.

My last recommendation, is aimed at increasing the amount of PWD who want to become coaches themselves. While this research emphasised the great support of sport clubs and coaches for PWD to become coaches themselves, there was evidence to suggest that certain impairment groups still face significant barriers. (1) PWD and particularly people with visual

impairments face societal barriers in that they are often considered to be unable to be a coach because of their impairment. However, there are certain coping mechanisms available that allow people with visual impairments to be successful coaches. As such there is a need for awareness raising within the sport sector and broader society that PWD can be successful coaches and that PWD can become coaches.

(2) Some impairment groups are faced with a significant financial burden, in addition to expensive course fees, which in general is found to be a barrier to coach education, as they are expected to finance their accessible needs themselves. This was particularly found to be the case for people with hearing impairments who would find themselves in need to pay for a signer. For many, this proves to be an additional deterrent or even makes it financially impossible to follow coach education. Therefore, it is suggested that extra funds are allocated to training and coaching of PWD in order to meet their accessibility needs and cover the additional costs incurred as a result of their impairment. Furthermore, it is advised that NGBs and other organisations who advertise training and coaching opportunities are more open about how they can cater for PWD as this could further stimulate PWD to follow such courses.

11.2. Recommendations for future research

Bearing in mind the findings of this research, I would like to recommend four areas, in particular, for future research. The first one of these would be an investigation into hybrid sport clubs, which is a merger of a disability and mainstream sport club. To the knowledge of the author, this study is the first to encounter such an organisational structure of a sport club. This is evidenced by the absence of hybrid sport clubs in the Sport Club survey conducted by the Sport and Recreation Alliance (2016, 2013, 2011, 2009). Furthermore, following the findings of this research, the hybrid sport club looks like a promising pathway towards more equity in the sport sector as it seems to bridge a gap between disability and mainstream participation. However, little is known about this type of sport club which has a potential to reshape the sport landscape in the future. As such, it is recommended that future research on hybrid sport clubs would be undertaken. Particularly in relation to understanding the diversity and differences between grassroots sport club structure (see Kikulis et al. 1989, May et al. 2013) and in terms of the relationship between sport club type, sport club diversity and their influence on policy implementation (see May et al. 2013, Nichols and James 2008).

My second recommendation, considering the many issues discovered between training and coaching, and disability, is that more research into this topic is needed to understand and assess

how far-reaching some of these issues are. While some research has been done in this regard (see Cushion et al. 2010, Fitzgerald and Lang 2009, Mcmaster et al. 2012, Nelson et al. 2013), other issues highlighted in this research have not been addressed, for example, the extent and possible reasons for coaches charging PWD extra. Additionally, research into the lived experiences of coaches with disabilities could provide a better account of the difficulties faced by PWD looking to become a coach and the way they are perceived in society. While research on the lived experience of people with disabilities and coaches has been done in a separated manner (Cronin and Armour 2015, Heah et al. 2007, Mullins and Preyde 2013), the intersectionality of coaches with disabilities has been largely absent from the coaching and disability literature. Therefore, it is recommended that more research addresses the intersectionality of disability and coaching.

A third recommendation, is further research into PWD' fear of being active. As the results of this research have highlighted, PWD are afraid to lose their disability benefits as a result of being physically active. This creates a situation in which PWD, who could arguably benefit the most of being active, want to participate in sport but are scared into not being physically active instead. Indeed, recent research conducted by the Activity Alliance (2018) shows that almost half of PWD are afraid to lose their benefits if they are seen to be physically active. These worries are perhaps not surprising with the government increasingly expecting PWD to prove their eligibility to access welfare services while it has also been narrowing the definitions of impairment as it seeks to reduce the number of people on welfare benefits (Goodley 2014). However, both the findings of this study and the findings of the Activity Alliance are based on the perception of PWD. As such, it is recommended that further research is conducted to provide clarity on whether PWD are in fact losing benefits because of their participation in physical activity. Furthermore, additional research could establish whether these perceptions and/or loss of benefits is linked to certain impairment types.

My last recommendation, in light of the scarcity of research in this general area, would be more research of the same or a similar nature in other sports or other impairment groups. This would be particularly interesting regarding team sports, which could constitute issues to mainstreaming unique to the collaborative nature of such sports. Additionally, people with different impairments or disabilities that were not included in this study could have very different experiences in their sport participation. And, lastly, research of the same or a similar nature would allow the assessment of whether the findings of this research are apparent in

other countries, especially in reference to the influence of ableism and the perception people have of sport participation in relation to PWD.

11.3. Limitations of this study

This research relied on the interpretation of oral interviews and written documents which allows the collection of rich and detailed materials. However, this research inevitably possessed some limitations. This section recognises these limitations and explains some of the steps taken to minimise their impact on this research.

First, this study relies on data collected from two sports, athletics and swimming. An argument was made as to why these two sports were selected in the Methodology Chapter (see Chapter 5). However, these two sports were specifically chosen to have some overlap in characteristics. For example, both are individual sports with a large participation and their NGBs have "integrated" disability in their organisation. Thus, the conclusions drawn from these sports may be skewed by an unrepresentative sample. Second, the representatives of organisations who were interviewed and contributed to this research were partially chosen by the researcher which allows for biases of the research to impact on the study. Furthermore, many of the sport clubs invited to take part in the interviews conducted for this research chose not to participate allowing for a response bias. Third, the PWD interviewed for this study do not provide an accurate representation of all the impairments and disabilities that are prevalent in society. Thus, the conclusions drawn from the PWD interviewed for this study may be skewed by an unrepresentative sample. Lastly, the interviews, and for that matter this research, was conducted at a specific time and in a particular context. Therefore, the analysis may only be relevant to that context making it difficult to replicate this study.

However, an attempt was made to overcome many of the above identified limitations or at least taken into consideration in the analysis. First, an initial stakeholder analysis was conducted to select the organisations included in this research. Additionally, it was often the organisations themselves who would recommend a representative to be interviewed. As such, the sample did not only reflect the key personal as perceived by the author but the key personal as perceived by the organisations under investigation themselves. Secondly, while it is difficult to replicate this study, all raw material collected could be presented to a different researcher who could then analyse the same data and either confirm or offer an alternative interpretation. Lastly, while these strategies were used to minimise bias and increase the credibility of the analysis,

triangulation of data was used to assure a rigorous and robust methodology to address the research aims and objectives.

To summarise, this research provided a specialised and localised insight into the implementation of mainstreaming policy in the grassroots sport sector. The understanding gained from this thesis cannot be extrapolated to provide an insight of the social perceptions of disability and sport as a whole. However, it does provide a significant contribution to the understanding of some of the underlying issues in regard to the implementation of mainstreaming policy. The findings of this thesis highlighted diverse views and varied commitment to mainstreaming. Moreover, it highlighted the long way mainstreaming still has to go in the sport sector. In fact, looking for simplicity in public policy responses to what are complex social, cultural, environmental and behavioural issues provides, at least in part, the explanation as to why it has invariably come up short in its big ambitions for mainstreaming. It is hoped that, through this research, I was able to raise awareness to the problems that people with disabilities face in their search for sporting opportunities in the mainstream and the role the various organisations have in contributing to the mainstreaming agenda.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Changes to the coaching survey

The coaching survey conducted in 2017 study introduced a more broader definition of coaching compared to the ones used previously (cf. Sports Coach UK 2011, Townend and North 2007, UK Coaching 2017a). For the latest survey (2017) coaching is broadly defined as: "coaching, instruction, training or tuition in ANY sport or physical activity" (UK Coaching 2017a: 7) and considers both the formal sports club settings and the informal community settings. This definition includes coaches in sport clubs, community activators and helpers, physical education teachers and exercise and fitness instructor. In addition, it includes less restrictions on what classifies as an active coach (coached once in the last 12 months). This has resulted in a reported 3.1 million coaches or about 6% of the UK population (UK Coaching 2017a). Questions arise if this broadening of the definition was politically motivated to show legacy success from the London 2012 Games or to show improvement in relation to underperforming groups as the next paragraph shows.

When looking at the percentage of PWD being coaches it seems that they have been under-represented. This is in line with underrepresentation in sport participation in general. In 2006, 10 % of the coaching body was considered to have a disability, while in 2011 this dropped to just 8% (Sports Coach UK 2011). More recently, it has been reported that 26% of the current active coaching body are PWD (UK Coaching 2017a). This is a significant increase considering the last decade. While it remains unclear what contributed to this significant increase, there are three factors that play a role. First there has been a broader definition of coaching which has resulted in an increase in the amount of active coaches of almost 200%. It is safe to assume that making the definition of coaching less strict more people, including PWD, could be considered coaches. Secondly, the UK Coaching survey (2017b) reported a significant increase in respondents with a disability. This increase in PWD responding to the survey in combination with a broadening of the definition can help explain the increase in PWD currently active in coaching. Thirdly, there has been more emphasis on PWD and increased opportunities for PWD in coaching (Sport England 2012, Sports Coach UK 2006, Townsend et al. 2015).

Appendix 2: Neo-Marxism: instrumentalism and structuralism

The instrumentalist position is considered as the most prevalent conception within the Marxist theory of the state. This theory is mainly developed by Miliband (1969). While instrumentalism itself can be part of multiple divergent theories of the state, it is most often accorded the status of Marxist. (Jessop 1982, Sweezy 1942: 243). The modern capitalist is able to formulate public policies, which represents their group interest. Thus, the modern state serves the interest of the capitalist class because it is dominated by that group (Barrow 1993: 13). This means that the state is merely an instrument of bourgeois domination and that there is no such thing as a neutral state or a free economy (Held, 1996). It is the ruling class that enforces and guarantees the stability of the class structure itself.

Structuralism, mainly developed by Poulantzas (1972) as a critique on Miliband's instrumentalism, starts from the assumption that capitalist societies are prone to crisis that are the result of economic stagnation or from a class war between capital and labour. Because of this nature, the state, in opposition to the instrumentalist vision, actively intervenes in order to maintain economic stability and to mediate the class struggles in capitalist societies (Barrow 1993: 51). This mediating function of the state has as goal to preserve and enhance capitalist interests. Within these views, state institutions cannot exercise power towards non-capitalist objectives. State institutions only exist by virtue of their functional role in capitalist society (Jessop 1982).

The difference between Poulantzas theory and Miliband's, is the debate between what is cause and effect. Miliband argues with the instrumentalist position that the bourgeois class is the cause, while the state function preserving the class interest is the effect. Poulantzas, in his structuralism, argues that it is the other way around. The emphasis on "the direct participation of members of the capitalist class in the state apparatus and in the government, even where it exists, is not the important side of the matter" (Poulantzas 1972: 245). For Poulantzas the emphasis lays on "the structural components and or constraints placed on the state by the objective power of capital" (Hill 1997: 54). This means that it is because of the system itself that a direct participation of the ruling class in the state apparatus is possible. Thus, the state apparatus is the cause, and the direct participation of the bourgeois is the effect (Hill 1997, Poulantzas 1972).

Appendix 3: Combining Top-Down and Bottom-Up theories

Elmore's theory of forward and backward mapping is an early attempt to combine both schools of thought (1982, 1985). It includes analysis of both the higher and lower levels of policy implementation, which is useful for implementers in the planning phase. However, this theory does not include any casual relationships or hypothesis and, as such, a main criticism is that it lacks explanatory powers (Elezi 2013, Matland 1995). Therefore, it is seen more as a useful discussion rather than a theory (Matland 1995: 151).

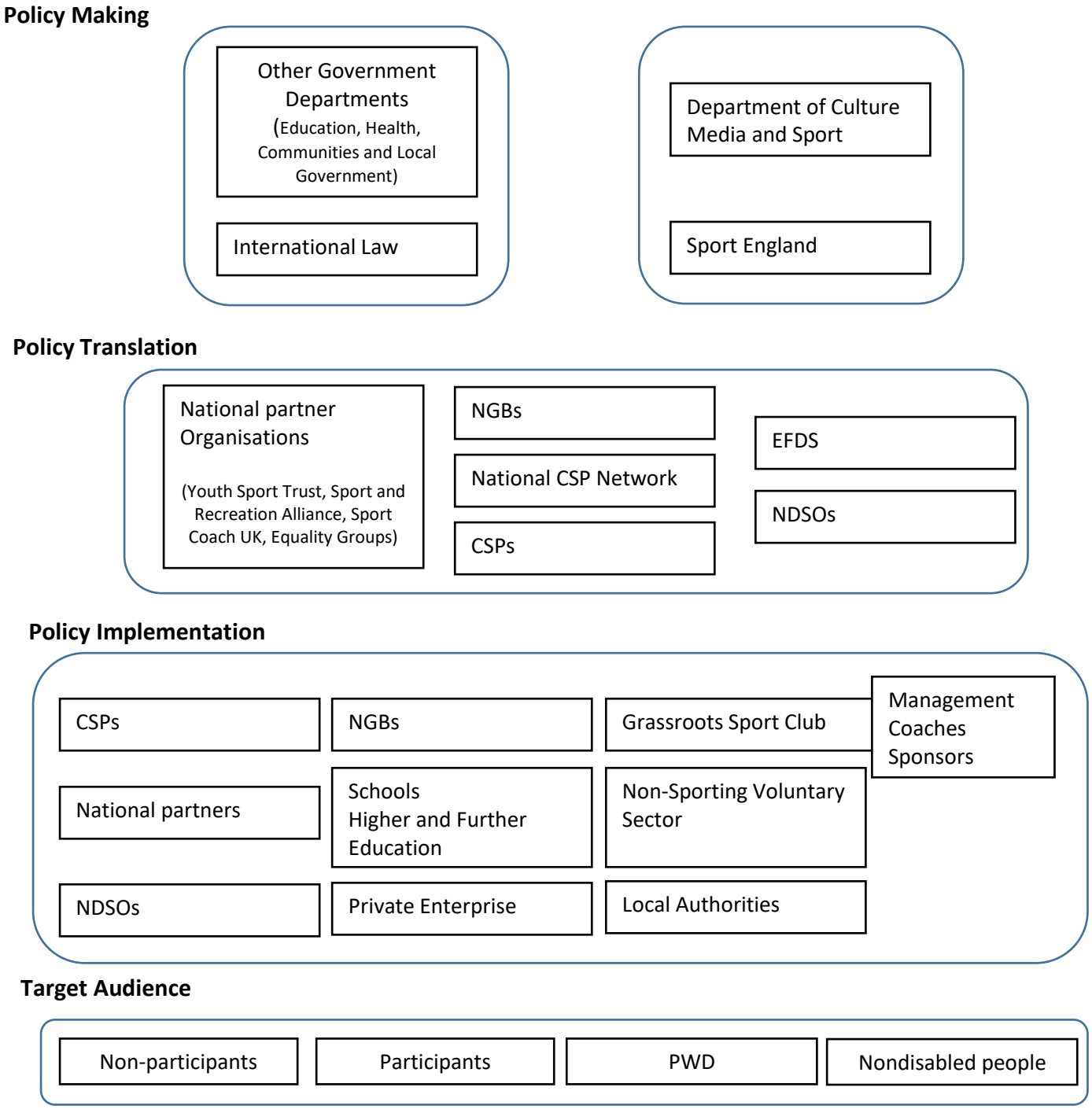
A second noteworthy attempt to combine both the bottom-up and top-down perspectives comes from Sabatier (1986, 1988, 1991, Sabatier and Pelkey 1987, Sabatier and Weible 2007, Weible and Sabatier 2006). He argues that policies operate within parameters which are most easily identified by using a top-down approach which remains stable over long periods of time. However, within this structure, substantial actions occur. Sabatier argues that these actions are best studied through the lens of advocacy coalitions. Moreover, he argues that policy should be analysed in cycles of more than ten years, as this would allow consideration of policy learning. However, this moves the analysis from a specific policy to all actions in a policy field. Moreover, a policy field can radically change over many years which raises the question of whether this actually is the study of implementation (Matland 1995).

Those who prefer to discuss when a model is appropriately applied rather than to try to build a combined model include Dunsire (1978) and Saetren (1983) who argue that a bottom-up or top-down perspective depends on the phase of the policy process. They argue that a top-down perspective corresponds with the planning stage, while for the later evaluation stages the bottom-up perspective is more appropriate.

Berman (1980) argues that both approaches can be used in the policy planning phase, depending on a set of parameters that describe the policy context. These situational parameters are fixed and cannot be influenced by the implementation designer. These include the amount of change, goal conflict, institutional setting and stability of the environment. What Berman's, Dunsire's and Saetren's methods have in common is their focus on the planning stages of the policy process.

Appendix 4: Key stakeholders in policy making, translation and implementation (May et al. 2013)

Appendix 5: Extensive overview of stakeholders from the sport policy process (adapted from May et al. 2013)



Appendix 6: Example question of the survey

Disability in para-sport is defined as having an impairment which includes a spinal cord injury, cerebral palsy, spina bifida, multiple sclerosis, a sensory disability (e.g. hearing, vision impairment) and an intellectual disability.

Does the club have members with disabilities? Yes No

In case the respondent answered yes, the following two questions were shown. In case the respondent answered no, they were routed to the next question without seeing the two follow up questions.

a) How many members with a sensory of physical disabilities does the club have?
……

b) How many members with an intellectual disability does the club have?
……..

Appendix 7: Example question of the interviews

Interviewer #00:02:35-0# Do you see any big issues with mainstreaming of disability sport in athletics?

Club 1 #00:02:48-1# I suppose I look at my sport and think we are one of the most open and euhm accessible sports in the country, if not in the world. …. and the number of people that are taking part in disability athletics in the country is growing all the time and I am not so much saying you do not need to mainstream, I just think you do not need to make a big issue of it necessarily, I think there are still barriers, quite a few of them in some club communities, where there are still one or two people from the older guard who have been running the club for years and go: I am actually not really sure what to do. Well you are a club your doors are open, take on a new member. you know we have had one of the first wheelchair racing groups here at the club in 19. something in the mid-90s I suppose. And it really just was one guy who said I want to have a go at this. and he got together with a couple of mates and they started doing it and then out of that came a girl who went to Sydney, won a couple of medals … so is there an issue about mainstreaming. I think it depends on how you define mainstreaming you know. can anybody with a disability access the sport in this country? Yes. Is it easy? It is OK. #00:04:36-1#

….

Club 1 #00:05:22-2# … what I am saying is that every club has pockets within it. you know. the sprinters do not tend to mix with the endurance athletes. The throwers do not tend to mix with the jumpers. Does a wheelchair racing group, I will come up to other disabilities in a bit, does a wheelchair racing group mix with mainstream track athletes? No not particularly. Functionality I think is the issue. You know, because at the end of the day you do not train in quite the same way. The type of training is quite different. Would you say that is not mainstream? Would you say they are isolated? No I do not think so.

#00:06:35-8# in terms of other disabilities and mainstreaming, … I think where there are CP athletes, deaf, visually impaired, I do not, euh, see the issue of mainstreaming happening at all. Because they are a minority I suppose, still, they join a club where they think they can get a good coach, and we got some good coaches and they join us.

Interviewer #00:07:21-5# So when you talk about the wheelchair racing, which exists within the club, do you think that is where the future is going? Where the disability aspect is integrated in the mainstream club? or do you think that the mainstream club and the disability specific club will always co-exist at a certain level?

Club 1 #00:07:47-7# I think that disability, if you look at all the classifications in disability, the ones that will find it hardest to be integrated completely, are the wheelchair racers because of the uniqueness of what they do… Then there are framed throwers, so they have to be seated, they have to be anchored and all the rest of it. So, that takes quiet a long time to actual organise, what normally would have been an hour session. So, that in itself means that the coach tends to focus on just coaching members with a disability separately. I have said, maybe ten years ago, the issue would have been that the club looked and oh we cannot do that, it is too difficult, we cannot coop, we do not know what we are doing. While now, by natural evolution really, people have just, the disability athletes have kindly said we want to take part and the clubs have not said no. And the answers have just kind of evolved. So, euhm, you know for a number of disability classifications, it does not make any difference whatsoever, they are a member of the club, like any other member of the club.

#00:09:07-5# But there is a logistical issue, I would suggest that is all it is, Rick coaches' able-bodied [sic] athletes, Zack coaches able bodied athletes, but when they work with a disability group, they are what you might term isolated, but only because of the logistics of working with them and able bodied at the same time. other than that, I would say they are mainstreamed as much as you might ever see it. #00:09:27-8#

Appendix 8: Methods of transcription tested for this research

Recently, CAQDAS software such as NVivo allows for coding directly on the audio file which could possibly make transcribing a thing of the past. This method has been successfully used in previous studies (see Wainwright and Russel 2010) and a short test with audio coding was attempted through NVivo 11 for this study. However, the audio data felt less tangible and harder to review and locate. Having to re-listen to every node to analyse across interviews, often resulted in transcribing the audio anyway. Thus, it was decided to use a more conventional way of data management and transcribe the data first.

Within more traditional ways of transcribing it is possible to distinguish between three ways of transcribing. Firstly, there is the traditional way of listening to audio and typing it out, *verbatim transcription*. Secondly, it is possible to listen to audio and speak it out for speech-recognition software, *listen and repeat* transcription. A third option, is playing a recording directly into speech-recognition software, *automated* transcription, which is the dream of many researchers. It would simplify the task and save a lot of time, however, everyone who would have made attempts, it was attempted for this study as well, would come to the same conclusion. The result of the transcription would be a useless bunch of nonsensical words. Similarly, an attempt was made to use *listen and repeat* transcription which, in recent years, has seen successful application (see Matheson 2007, Park and Zeanah 2005, Tilley 2003). For this method, the transcriber listens to the recording and repeats the interview into the speech recognition software. However, this method was also found to be inefficient. It proved very difficult to listen and repeat the recording in real time. Additionally, it was proven that it would take a high time commitment to train the software to recognise my voice accurately. That I am not a native English speaker, and thus have an accent, does not help with using speech-recognition software. It has been suggested that it takes about 20 hours of training, to reach a satisfying result (Park and Zeanah 2005). Therefore, it was decided to go with the most traditional form of transcribing, verbatim transcription.

Appendix 9: Overview of EU and UK legislation in relation to digital accessibility and WCAG Guidelines

European Legislation		
Year	Event	Comments
1999	eEurope: An Information Society for All initiative	An initiative by the European Commission to bring the benefits of the Information Society to all Europeans. Moreover, this initiative addressed the needs of PWD, albeit in a vaguely formulated manner, and refers to Declaration 22 of the Amsterdam Treaty.
2000	eEurope Action Plan 2002	European Council takes steps to address access to the Web for PWD. Highlights WCAG 1.0 and future versions as the standard for public websites.
2001	European Commission Communication on improving accessibility of public websites	Public sector websites and their content in Member States and in the European institutions must be designed to be accessible to ensure that citizens with disabilities can access information and take full advantage of the potential for e-government.
2002	eEurope Action Plan 2005	European Parliament stresses that access of PWD and elderly people to public websites and their contents is an opportunity to improve their participation in society.
2005	Initiative i2010: European Information Society 2010	European Commission promotes an inclusive European information society. Focusses on e-Government.
2016	Directive 2016/2102: Accessibility of the websites and mobile applications of public sector bodies	European Parliament develops the first binding directive that expects public sector bodies to comply with WCAG standards from 2019 for new websites and 2020 for existing ones.
Comment: These pieces of European legislation clearly show that the main objective is about inclusive e-government and only applies to the government and public-sector bodies. Applied to the sports sector, this means that websites such as those from Sport England, Sport UK and the EFDS must comply with European legislation by 2020. Other organisations, such as grassroots sport clubs are voluntary organisations and fall outside of the directive. Commercial sports organisations, such as fitness centres would also fall outside of the directive.		
UK Legislation		
Year	Event	Comments
1995	Disability Discrimination Act (DDA)	Access to and use of information services should be accessible. However, it does not make mention of the digital environment.
2002	Statutory Code of Practice of the DDA	Clarifies the meaning of the DDA. In doing so it mentions the need for accessible websites.
2005	Disability Discrimination Act	Amendment to the 1995 DDA
2010	Equality Act (EQA)	Prohibits discrimination by providers of services, goods and facilities. However, it does not make mention of the digital environment.
2011	Statutory Code of Practice of the EQA	Clarifies the meaning of the EQA. In doing so it mentions the need for accessible websites.
2011	e-Accessibility Action Plan	Initiative to make digital content accessible to everyone

Comment: Considering the clarification of the Statuary Code of Practice of the EQA it can be argued that voluntary sport clubs should make their websites accessible. They are delivering information to the public through the use of digital communication and, in some cases, they use websites as a marketing tool or to provide members with other services. This would imply that websites of sport clubs should make reasonable adjustments to enable PWD to access their websites.		
Web Accessibility Initiative		
1999	WCAG 1.0	The guidelines consist of testable success criteria, which rate websites at three levels: A, AA and AAA. The three levels reflect a sliding scale between impact (how accessible a website is) and design (how much freedom developers have in creating an appealing website). While criteria for the A level have a minimal impact on design, criteria for the AAA level are more demanding and will have a bigger impact on design[73].
2008	WCAG 2.0	
2017	WCAG 2.1	

Comments:

While it is hard to remember a world without the internet, it only became publicly available in 1995 after restrictions to allow the internet to carry commercial traffic were lifted (Susan et al. 1996). Since then, the internet has seen rapid growth and development. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) reports a significant growth in internet access at home in the UK, from 9% in 1998 to 89% in 2016 (ONS 2016a). In addition, mobile internet made its entrance with 75% of adults using internet "on the go" (ONS 2016a). Almost 82% of the adults in Great Britain use the internet daily or almost daily (ONS 2016a). People no longer "go" online, people "are" online just like businesses "are" online with 80% of businesses having their own website in 2010 (OECD 2011). These providers of information and services, in this case the various organisations of the sport sector, rely increasingly on the internet to produce, collect and provide a wide range of information and services online, which are useful to the public. This is different from before the digital age when companies were heavily reliant on paper newspapers and magazines to inform the public.

Accordingly, society has adapted to these new ways and data shows that 76% of adults use the internet to find information about goods and services (ONS 2016a). This is no different for PWD, with 78% saying that they use the internet to find out about new hobbies and interests (EFDS 2013). Additionally, 50% search for hobbies on their smartphone, while 33% search from a tablet

[73] While it is important to strive to maximum accessibility it is important to keep in mind that AAA level criteria are not achievable for all content (W3C 2008).

(EFDS 2013). To put this way of searching for information in perspective, there are more than 2.3 million Google searches per minute (D`Onfro 2016). Google has become the modern-day Yellow Pages[74].

Accessibility applies to many facets of our society. As such it is important to define what is meant by the term. The definition most widely used (and used for this study) is that from the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) which defines accessibility as the

> "extent to which products, systems, services, environments and facilities can be used by people from a population with the widest range of characteristics and capabilities to achieve a specified goal in a specified context of use[75]" (adopted from ISO 26800:2011)

Digital information can be challenging to access for PWD in very much the same way as a physical building can be. Barriers exist that prevent easy access to digital information and some of these barriers are rooted in the ableist perspectives of society. As such, accessibility in this context is defined by giving people unhindered access to websites and digital information. This can be direct or through the use of assistive technologies.

When looking at accessibility of websites, the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) plays an important role. W3C is the Web's governing body[76]. Their primary activity is to develop protocols and guidelines (standards) that ensure long-term growth for the web (W3C 2017c). More importantly, the W3C formed a group called the Web Accessibility Initiative (WAI). The WAI has a mission to develop "strategies, guidelines, and resources to make the Web accessible to PWD" (W3C 2017d). The WAI initiative and their guidelines predate most of the legislation. As such, it comes as no surprise that legislation often refers to the WAI guidelines and its standards as good practice for digital accessibility

[74] A British telephone directory, or a section of one, printed on yellow paper which was delivered free to all British households and businesses. It listed businesses and other organisations according to the goods or services they offer

[75] The context of use includes direct use or use supported by assistive technologies.

[76] They are a global organisation which is not linked to any country in particular.

Appendix 10: Eligible Impairment Groups for the Paralympics as Defined by the IPC (International Paralympic Committee 2015: 2)

Impairment	**Explanation**
Impaired muscle power	Reduced force generated by muscles or muscle groups, may occur in one limb or the lower half of the body, as caused, for example, by spinal cord injuries, Spina Bifida or Poliomyelitis.
Impaired passive range of movement	Range of movement in one or more joints is reduced permanently. Joints that can move beyond the average range of motion, joint instability, and acute conditions, such as arthritis, are not considered eligible impairments.
Limb deficiency	Total or partial absence of bones or joints, from birth or as a consequence of trauma (e.g. car accident or amputation) or illness (e.g. bone cancer).
Leg length difference	Bone shortening in one leg from birth or trauma.
Short Stature	Reduced standing height due to abnormal dimensions of bones of upper and lower limbs or trunk, for example, due to achondroplasia or growth hormone dysfunction.
Hypertonia	Abnormal increase in muscle tension and a reduced ability of a muscle to stretch, which can result from injury, illness or a health condition such as cerebral palsy.
Ataxia	Lack of coordination of muscle movements due to a neurological condition, such as cerebral palsy, brain injury or multiple sclerosis.
Athetosis	Generally characterised by unbalanced, uncontrolled movements and a difficulty in maintaining a symmetrical posture, due to cerebral palsy, brain injury, multiple sclerosis or other conditions.
Visual impairment	Vision is impacted by either an impairment of the eye structure, optical nerve/ pathways or the part of the brain controlling vision (visual cortex).
Intellectual Impairment	A limitation in intellectual functioning and adaptive behaviour as expressed in conceptual, social and practical adaptive skills, which originates before the age of 18.

Appendix 11: Swim coach qualifications

Level	Name	Duration	Function
Level 1	Assistant Coach	4 Days	Those aged 16+ and wants to support a coach in a club environment
Level 2	Swimming Coach	8-10 Days	Those aged 18+ who want to be an independent coach
Level 3	Senior Swimming Coach	9 Months	The selection process caters for competitive coaching and elite athlete development

Appendix 12: Athletics coach qualifications

Level	Name	Duration	Function
N/A	Athletics Leader	3 Hours	Those aged 14+ looking to lead athletic activities for young athletes.
Level 1 equivalent	Coaching Assistant	2 Days	Those aged 16+ and interested in supporting coaches
Level 2 equivalent	Athletics Coach	4 Days + homework	Those who want to be independent coaches
Level 2 equivalent	Coach in Running Fitness	*	non-track based endurance running events
Level 3 equivalent	Event Group Coach	1 Day + online learning	Elite athlete and event specific development.

* Not specified

Appendix 13: Ethics Application 1 – Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Coventry University ETHICS

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Project Title

Mainstreaming of disability sport

Record of Approval

Principal Investigator

I **request an ethics peer review** and confirm that I have answered all relevant questions in this checklist honestly.	X
I confirm that I will carry out the project in the ways described in this checklist. I will immediately suspend research and request new ethical approval if the project subsequently changes the information I have given in this checklist.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the Code of Research Ethics issued by the relevant national learned society.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the University's Research Ethics, Governance and Integrity Framework.	X

Name: Matej Christiaens .....

Date: 29/01/2016 .....

Student's Supervisor (if applicable)

I have read this checklist and confirm that it covers all the ethical issues raised by this project fully and frankly. I also confirm that these issues have been discussed with the student and will continue to be reviewed in the course of supervision.

Name: Ian Brittain .....

Date: 08/02/2017 .....

Reviewer (if applicable)

Date of approval by anonymous reviewer: 08/02/2017

Medium to High Risk Research Ethics Approval Checklist

Project Information

Project Ref	P41425
Full name	Matej Christiaens
Faculty	Faculty of Business and Law
Department	School of Strategy and Leadership
Supervisor	Ian Brittain
Module Code	FBL-PHD
EFAAF Number	
Project title	Mainstreaming of disability sport
Date(s)	18/01/2016 - 30/04/2017
Created	29/01/2016 12:38

Project Summary

This part of the project involves mapping the Athletics and Swim- clubs in the West-Midlands.

Therefore a short questionnaire is send to each sport club to gauge their size and accessibility.

Survey is send and shared on social media on which people with a disability can indicate their willingness to participate in an interview (covered in P43080)

Names of Co-Investigators and their organisational affiliation (place of study/employer)	
Is the project self-funded?	NO
Who is funding the project?	
Has the funding been confirmed?	NO
Are you required to use a Professional Code of Ethical Practice appropriate to your discipline?	NO
Have you read the Code?	NO

Project Details

What is the purpose of the project?	The project will analyse the implementation of disability sport policy within athletics and swim clubs. The focus will be on the integration of people with disabilities in the mainstream sport club and how these clubs go about it.	
What are the planned or desired outcomes?	The desired outcomes for the first stage is an extensive overview of the athletics and swim clubs in the West-Midlands. The data collected will give a first impression of the size of the club, the amount of members with disabilities and some primary information about its accessibility.	
Explain your research design	This first stage in the research project will provide primary data which will be used to make a selection for the second stage of the research project.	
Outline the principal methods you will use	The first stage of the research project will use surveys and secondary data.	
Are you proposing to use an external research instrument, validated scale or follow a published research method?		YES
If yes, please give details of what you are using	Using BOS-online survey tool to conduct a small 10 question survey. Bos-Online survey tool for a survey to indicate interivew interest	
Will your research involve consulting individuals who support, or literature, websites or similar material which advocates, any of the following: terrorism, armed struggles, or political, religious or other forms of activism considered illegal under UK law?		NO
Are you dealing with Secondary Data? (e.g. sourcing info from websites, historical documents)		YES
Are you dealing with Primary Data involving people? (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, observations)		YES
Are you dealing with personal or sensitive data?		YES
Is the project solely desk based? (e.g. involving no laboratory, workshop or off-campus work or other activities which pose significant risks to researchers or participants)		NO
Are there any other ethical issues or risks of harm raised by the study that have not been covered by previous questions?		NO
If yes, please give further details		

DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) formerly CRB (Criminal Records Bureau)

Question			Yes	No
1	Does the study require DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) checks?			X
	If YES, please give details of the serial number, date obtained and expiry date			
2	If NO, does the study involve direct contact by any member of the research team:			
	a) with children or young people under 18 years of age?			X
	b) with adults who have learning difficulties, brain injury, dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?			X
	c) with adults who are frail or physically disabled?			X
	d) with adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?			X
	e) with adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?			X
	If you have answered YES to any of the questions above please explain the nature of that contact and what you will be doing			

External Ethical Review

Question		Yes	No
1	Will this study be submitted for ethical review to an external organisation? (e.g. Another University, Social Care, National Health Service, Ministry of Defence, Police Service and Probation Office)		X
	If YES, name of external organisation		
2	Will this study be reviewed using the IRAS system?		X
3	Has this study previously been reviewed by an external organisation?		X

Confidentiality, security and retention of research data

Question			Yes	No
1	Are there any reasons why you cannot guarantee the full security and confidentiality of any personal or confidential data collected for the study?			X
	If YES, please give an explanation			
2	Is there a significant possibility that any of your participants, and associated persons, could be directly or indirectly identified in the outputs or findings from this study?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case			
3	Is there a significant possibility that a specific organisation or agency or participants could have confidential information identified, as a result of the way you write up the results of the study?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case			
4	Will any members of the research team retain any personal of confidential data at the end of the project, other than in fully anonymised form?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case			
5	Will you or any member of the team intend to make use of any confidential information, knowledge, trade secrets obtained for any other purpose than the research project?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case			
6	Will you be responsible for destroying the data after study completion?		X	
	If NO, please explain how data will be destroyed, when it will be destroyed and by whom			

Participant Information and Informed Consent

Question			Yes	No
1	Will all the participants be fully informed BEFORE the project begins why the study is being conducted and what their participation will involve?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
2	Will every participant be asked to give written consent to participating in the study, before it begins?		X	
	If NO, please explain how you will get consent from your participants. If not written consent, explain how you will record consent			
3	Will all participants be fully informed about what data will be collected, and what will be done with this data during and after the study?		X	
	If NO, please specify			
4	Will there be audio, video or photographic recording of participants?			X
	Will explicit consent be sought for recording of participants?			
	If NO to explicit consent, please explain how you will gain consent for recording participants			
5	Will every participant understand that they have the right not to take part at any time, and/or withdraw themselves and their data from the study if they wish?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
6	Will every participant understand that there will be no reasons required or repercussions if they withdraw or remove their data from the study?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
7	Does the study involve deceiving, or covert observation of, participants?			X
	Will you debrief them at the earliest possible opportunity?			
	If NO to debrief them, please explain why this is necessary			

Risk of harm, potential harm and disclosure of harm

Question		Yes	No
1	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to physical harm to participants or researchers?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
2	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to participants?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
3	Is there any risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to researchers?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
4	Is there any risk that your study may lead or result in harm to the reputation of participants, researchers, or their employees, or any associated persons or organisations?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
5	Is there a risk that the study will lead to participants to disclose evidence of previous criminal offences, or their intention to commit criminal offences?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
6	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence that children or vulnerable adults are being harmed, or at risk or harm?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
7	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence of serious risk of other types of harm?		X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks		
8	Are you aware of the CU Disclosure protocol?	X	

Payments to participants

Question		Yes	No
1	Do you intend to offer participants cash payments or any kind of inducements, or reward for taking part in your study?		X
	If YES, please explain what kind of payment you will be offering (e.g. prize draw or store vouchers)		
2	Is there any possibility that such payments or inducements will cause participants to consent to risks that they might not otherwise find acceptable?		
3	Is there any possibility that the prospect of payment or inducements will influence the data provided by participants in any way?		
4	Will you inform participants that accepting payments or inducements does not affect their right to withdraw from the study at any time?		

Capacity to give valid consent

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:			
	a)	children or young people under 18 years of age?		X
	b)	adults who have learning difficulties, mental health condition, brain injury, advanced dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?		X
	c)	adults who are physically disabled?		X
	d)	adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?		X
	e)	adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?		X
	If you answer YES to any of the questions please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent			
2	Do you propose to recruit any participants with possible communication difficulties, including difficulties arising from limited use of knowledge of the English language?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent			
3	Do you propose to recruit any participants who may not be able to understand fully the nature of the study, research and the implications for them of participating in it or cannot provide consent themselves?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent			

Recruiting Participants

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:			
	a)	students or employees of Coventry University or partnering organisation(s)?		X
		If YES, please explain if there is any conflict of interest and how this will be addressed		
	b)	employees/staff recruited through other businesses, voluntary or public sector organisations?	X	
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained	Organizations will be contacted to fill out the survey. As the data collected is not influenced by the person filling out the survey the organization decides to give permission for one of its employees to fill out the survey.	
	c)	pupils or students recruited through educational institutions (e.g. primary schools, secondary schools, colleges)?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	d)	clients/volunteers/service users recruited through voluntary public services?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	e)	participants living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres hospitals or hospices?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	f)	recruited by virtue of their employment in the police or armed forces?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	g)	adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	h)	who may not be able to refuse to participate in the research?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		

Online and Internet Research

Question				Yes	No
1	Will any part of your study involve collecting data by means of electronic media (e.g. the Internet, e-mail, Facebook, Twitter, online forums, etc)?			X	
	If YES, please explain how you will obtain permission to collect data by this means		Online Survey using BOS		
2	Is there a possibility that the study will encourage children under 18 to access inappropriate websites, or correspond with people who pose risk of harm?				X
	If YES, please explain further				
3	Will the study incur any other risks that arise specifically from the use of electronic media?				X
	If YES, please explain further				
4	Will you be using survey collection software (e.g. BoS, Filemaker)?			X	
	If YES, please explain which software		BOS		
5	Have you taken necessary precautions for secure data management, in accordance with data protection and CU Policy?			X	
	If NO	please explain why not			
	If YES	Specify location where data will be stored	Students personal drive on coventry Computers. Data will be encrypted and identification will be stored separately from the data.		
		Planned disposal date	31/01/2018		
		If the research is funded by an external organisation, are there any requirements for storage and disposal?			X
		If YES, please specify details			

Languages

Question			Yes	No
1	Are all or some of the consent forms, information leaflets and research instruments associated with this project likely to be used in languages other than English?			X
	If YES, please specify the language[s] to be used			
2	Have some or all of the translations been undertaken by you or a member of the research team?			
	Are these translations in lay language and likely to be clearly understood by the research participants?			
	Please describe the procedures used when undertaking research instrument translation (e.g. forward and back translation), clarifying strategies for ensuring the validity and reliability or trustworthiness of the translation			
3	Have some or all of the translations been undertaken by a third party?			
	If YES, please specify the name[s] of the persons or agencies performing the translations			
	Please describe the procedures used when undertaking research instrument translation (e.g. forward and back translation), clarifying strategies for ensuring the validity and reliability of the translation			

Laboratory/Workshops

Question		Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project involve work in a laboratory or workshop which could pose risks to you, researchers or others?		X
	If YES: If you have risk assessments for laboratory or workshop activities you can refer to them here & upload them at the end, or explain in the text box how you will manage those risks		

Research with non-human vertebrates

Question			Yes	No
1	Will any part of the project involve animal habitats or tissues or non-human vertebrates?			X
	If YES, please give details			
2	Does the project involve any procedure to the protected animal whilst it is still alive?			
3	Will any part of your project involve the study of animals in their natural habitat?			
	If YES, please give details			
4	Will the project involve the recording of behaviour of animals in a non-natural setting that is outside the control of the researcher?			
	If YES, please give details			
5	Will your field work involve any direct intervention other than recording the behaviour of the animals available for observation?			
	If YES, please give details			
6	Is the species you plan to research endangered, locally rare or part of a sensitive ecosystem protected by legislation?			
	If YES, please give details			
7	Is there any significant possibility that the welfare of the target species of those sharing the local environment/habitat will be detrimentally affected?			
	If YES, please give details			
8	Is there any significant possibility that the habitat of the animals will be damaged by the project, such that their health and survival will be endangered?			
	If YES, please give details			
9	Will project work involve intervention work in a non-natural setting in relation to invertebrate species other than Octopus vulgaris?			
	If YES, please give details			

Blood Sampling / Human Tissue Analysis

Question			Yes	No
1	Does your study involve collecting or use of human tissues or fluids? (e.g. collecting urine, saliva, blood or use of cell lines, 'dead' blood)			X
	If YES, please give details			
2	If your study involves blood samples or body fluids (e.g. urine, saliva) have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The British Association of Sport and Exercise Science Physiological Testing Guidelines (2007) or equivalent) and that they are in line with the level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			
3	If your study involves human tissue other than blood and saliva, have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The Human Tissues Act, or equivalent) and that they are in line with level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			

Travel

Question			Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project require data collection off campus? (e.g. work in the field or community)			X
	If YES: You must consider the potential hazards from off campus activities (e.g. working alone, time of data collection, unfamiliar or hazardous locations, using equipment, the terrain, violence or aggression from others). Outline the precautions that will be taken to manage these risks, AS A MINIMUM this must detail how researchers would summon assistance in an emergency when working off campus. For complex or high risk projects you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment			
2	Does any part of the project involve the researcher travelling outside the UK (or to very remote UK locations)?			
	If YES: Please give details of where, when and how you will be travelling. For travel to high risk places you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment			
3	Are all travellers aware of contact numbers for emergency assitance when away (e.g. local emergency assistance, ambulance/local hospital/police, insurance helpline [+44 (0) 2071 737797] and CU's 24/7 emergency line [+44 (0) 2476 888555])?			
4	Are there any travel warnings in place advising against all, or essential only travel to the destination? NOTE: Before travel to countries with 'against all travel', or 'essential only' travel warnings, staff must check with Finance to ensure insurance coverage is not affected. Undergraduate projects in high risk destinations will not be approved			
5	Are there increased risks to health and safety related to the destination? e.g. cultural differences, civil unrest, climate, crime, health outbreaks/concerns, and travel arrangements?			
	If YES, please specify			
6	Do all travelling members of the research team have adequate travel insurance?			
7	Please confirm all travelling researchers have been advised to seek medical advice regarding vaccinations, medical conditions etc, from their GP			

Appendix 14: Ethics Application 2 – High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Coventry University ETHICS

High Risk Research Ethics Approval

Project Title

Towards Mainstreaming: A Principle – Practice Gap in the UK Sports Sector

Record of Approval

Principal Investigator

I **request an ethics peer review** and confirm that I have answered all relevant questions in this checklist honestly.	X
I confirm that I will carry out the project in the ways described in this checklist. I will immediately suspend research and request new ethical approval if the project subsequently changes the information I have given in this checklist.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the Code of Research Ethics issued by the relevant national learned society.	X
I confirm that I, and all members of my research team (if any), have read and agreed to abide by the University's Research Ethics, Governance and Integrity Framework.	X

Name: Matej Christiaens .....

Date: 26/04/2016 .....

Student's Supervisor (if applicable)

I have read this checklist and confirm that it covers all the ethical issues raised by this project fully and frankly. I also confirm that these issues have been discussed with the student and will continue to be reviewed in the course of supervision.

Name: Ian Brittain .....

Date: 21/07/2018 .....

Reviewer (if applicable)

Date of approval by anonymous reviewer: 23/07/2018

High Risk Research Ethics Approval Checklist

Project Information

Project Ref	P43080
Full name	Matej Christiaens
Faculty	Faculty of Business and Law
Department	School of Strategy and Leadership
Supervisor	Ian Brittain
Module Code	FBL-PHD
EFAAF Number	
Project title	Towards Mainstreaming: A Principle – Practice Gap in the UK Sports Sector
Date(s)	01/05/2016 - 30/06/2018
Created	26/04/2016 17:17

Project Summary

This part of the research covers doing interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders in grassroots disability sport and people with disabilities who participate or don't participate in sport activities.

Names of Co-Investigators and their organisational affiliation (place of study/employer)	
Is the project self-funded?	NO
Who is funding the project?	
Has the funding been confirmed?	NO
Are you required to use a Professional Code of Ethical Practice appropriate to your discipline?	NO
Have you read the Code?	NO

Project Details

What is the purpose of the project?	People with disabilities are the biggest underperforming group when it comes to sport participation. Purpose of this project is to get an idea about how two different sports (swimming and athletics) approach the mainstreaming of disability sport, which is an attempt to increase sport participation. However membership of sport clubs for people with disabilities is only around 2% of total members. Through interviews with clubs and other key stakeholders different approaches to mainstreaming are analysed and compared with each other.
What are the planned or desired outcomes?	The desired outcomes is an understanding in how the mainstreaming of disability sport is approached in practise by different sports and sport clubs. Secondly, by comparing different clubs a rational explanation can be formulated on why certain clubs are performing much better than others on mainstreaming. Additionally, the study will provide better insights in the lives of people with disabilities in relation to sport and leisure.
Explain your research design	This study uses mixed methods. A quantitative method was used as a pilot study which is followed up by quantitative methods to get more in depth data. A pilot study was done through a survey with all the swim and athletics clubs in the West-Midlands. Following this survey different sport clubs have been selected to get more in depth data in the form of semi structured interviews. Semi structured interviews are also used with other key stakeholders and participants/non-participants in disability sport. Observation of physical features of sport clubs. I will ask to get a tour around the sport club to assess and discuss

	accessibility features. I will explain the reason for the tour and discuss certain observations during the interview (this way the club will be informed and consent is given by giving me a tour if they agree). This is not a principal investigation technique, rather a tool to help with the interview.	
Outline the principal methods you will use	I used a survey to get a better understanding of the sport landscape in the west-midlands. I will be using this data to select sport clubs for interviews. People with disabilities are recruited through various sport clubs and other disability organisations. In addition a snowball sampling is used to contact other people with disabilities.	
Are you proposing to use an external research instrument, validated scale or follow a published research method?		YES
If yes, please give details of what you are using	Semi-structured interviews focus groups Observation content analysis	
Will your research involve consulting individuals who support, or literature, websites or similar material which advocates, any of the following: terrorism, armed struggles, or political, religious or other forms of activism considered illegal under UK law?		NO
Are you dealing with Secondary Data? (e.g. sourcing info from websites, historical documents)		YES
Are you dealing with Primary Data involving people? (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, observations)		YES
Are you dealing with personal or sensitive data?		YES
Will the Personal or Sensitive data be shared with a third party?		NO
Will the Personal or Sensitive data be shared outside of the European Economic Area ("EEA")?		NO
Is the project solely desk based? (e.g. involving no laboratory, workshop or off-campus work or other activities which pose significant risks to researchers or participants)		NO
Are there any other ethical issues or risks of harm raised by the study that have not been covered by previous questions?		YES
If yes, please give further details	Sensitivity of interviewing people with disabilities. People with certain disabilities might have trouble understanding the questions or	

	what consent is.

DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) formerly CRB (Criminal Records Bureau)

Question			Yes	No
1	Does the study require DBS (Disclosure & Barring Service) checks?			X
	If YES, please give details of the serial number, date obtained and expiry date			
2	If NO, does the study involve direct contact by any member of the research team:			
	a) with children or young people under 18 years of age?			X
	b) with adults who have learning difficulties, brain injury, dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?		X	
	c) with adults who are frail or physically disabled?		X	
	d) with adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?			X
	e) with adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?			X
	If you have answered YES to any of the questions above please explain the nature of that contact and what you will be doing	I will be doing interviews/group discussions with people with disabilities who are members of sport clubs. This will be done through the sport clubs. I will be doing interviews with people with disabilities who are not participating in sport or are not a member of a sport clubs. I will do this through snowball sampling or through disability organisations.		

External Ethical Review

Question		Yes	No
1	Will this study be submitted for ethical review to an external organisation? (e.g. Another University, Social Care, National Health Service, Ministry of Defence, Police Service and Probation Office)		X
	If YES, name of external organisation		
2	Will this study be reviewed using the IRAS system?		X
3	Has this study previously been reviewed by an external organisation?		X

Confidentiality, security and retention of research data

Question			Yes	No
1	Are there any reasons why you cannot guarantee the full security and confidentiality of any personal or confidential data collected for the study?			X
	If YES, please give an explanation			
2	Is there a significant possibility that any of your participants, and associated persons, could be directly or indirectly identified in the outputs or findings from this study?		X	
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case	I will be doing interviews with people in Sport Organisations such as Sport England, EFDS, NDSOs, NGBS. The representatives may be identifiable as the company is aware of the interviews and who the interview is with. Additionally these people will be commenting from the company perspective. If there are personal comments, effort will be made to keep assure anonymity and approval will be sought to use these quotes. This does not affect the interviews with sport clubs, participants and non-participants as full anonymity can be assured for these interviews.		
3	Is there a significant possibility that a specific organisation or agency or participants could have confidential information identified, as a result of the way you write up the results of the study?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case			
4	Will any members of the research team retain any personal of confidential data at the end of the project, other than in fully anonymised form?		X	
	If YES, please explain further why this is the case	Interviews will be recorded and a log will be kept to identify the records. I consider recordings as not being anonymised because they will include formal introductions of the people involved and the voices are not distorted.		
5	Will you or any member of the team intend to make use of any confidential information, knowledge, trade secrets obtained for any other purpose than the research project?			X
	If YES, please explain further why this is			

	the case		
6	Will you be responsible for destroying the data after study completion?	X	
	If NO, please explain how data will be destroyed, when it will be destroyed and by whom		

Participant Information and Informed Consent

Question			Yes	No
1	Will all the participants be fully informed BEFORE the project begins why the study is being conducted and what their participation will involve?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
2	Will every participant be asked to give written consent to participating in the study, before it begins?		X	
	If NO, please explain how you will get consent from your participants. If not written consent, explain how you will record consent			
3	Will all participants be fully informed about what data will be collected, and what will be done with this data during and after the study?		X	
	If NO, please specify			
4	Will there be audio, video or photographic recording of participants?		X	
	Will explicit consent be sought for recording of participants?		X	
	If NO to explicit consent, please explain how you will gain consent for recording participants			
5	Will every participant understand that they have the right not to take part at any time, and/or withdraw themselves and their data from the study if they wish?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
6	Will every participant understand that there will be no reasons required or repercussions if they withdraw or remove their data from the study?		X	
	If NO, please explain why			
7	Does the study involve deceiving, or covert observation of, participants?			X
	Will you debrief them at the earliest possible opportunity?			
	If NO to debrief them, please explain why this is necessary			

Risk of harm, potential harm and disclosure of harm

Question			Yes	No
1	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to physical harm to participants or researchers?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			
2	Is there any significant risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to participants?		X	
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks	When doing interviews with people with disabilities there is always a chance that there will be emotional distress. To reduce the chance of emotional distress, participants will be warned in advance that some questions might be emotional. Participants are explained very carefully that they dont have to answer any questions they dont feel comfortable with. if there is an emotional reaction a break from the interview will be offered. Interviews will take place in a private and safe environment.		
3	Is there any risk that the study may lead to psychological or emotional distress to researchers?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			
4	Is there any risk that your study may lead or result in harm to the reputation of participants, researchers, or their employees, or any associated persons or organisations?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			
5	Is there a risk that the study will lead to participants to disclose evidence of previous criminal offences, or their intention to commit criminal offences?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			
6	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence that children or vulnerable adults are being harmed, or at risk or harm?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			
7	Is there a risk that the study will lead participants to disclose evidence of serious risk of other types of harm?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will take steps to reduce or address those risks			

8	Are you aware of the CU Disclosure protocol?	X	

Payments to participants

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you intend to offer participants cash payments or any kind of inducements, or reward for taking part in your study?		X	
	If YES, please explain what kind of payment you will be offering (e.g. prize draw or store vouchers)	Beverages and small snacks might be provided to make the interview feel more relaxed and natural environment.		
2	Is there any possibility that such payments or inducements will cause participants to consent to risks that they might not otherwise find acceptable?			X
3	Is there any possibility that the prospect of payment or inducements will influence the data provided by participants in any way?			X
4	Will you inform participants that accepting payments or inducements does not affect their right to withdraw from the study at any time?		X	

Capacity to give valid consent

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:			
	a) children or young people under 18 years of age?			X
	b) adults who have learning difficulties, mental health condition, brain injury, advanced dementia, degenerative neurological disorders?		X	
	c) adults who are physically disabled?		X	
	d) adults who are living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres, hospitals or hospices?			X
	e) adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?			X
	If you answer YES to any of the questions please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent	Not enough room to discuss, added as a document.		
2	Do you propose to recruit any participants with possible communication difficulties, including difficulties arising from limited use of knowledge of the English language?			X
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent			
3	Do you propose to recruit any participants who may not be able to understand fully the nature of the study, research and the implications for them of participating in it or cannot provide consent themselves?		X	
	If YES, please explain how you will overcome any challenges to gaining valid consent	For people with a mental disability, easy language is adopted to make questions and consent more understandable. They will be accompanied by a care-person or family member, both to make sure they feel safe and to make sure everything is understood well.		

Recruiting Participants

Question			Yes	No
1	Do you propose to recruit any participants who are:			
	a)	students or employees of Coventry University or partnering organisation(s)?		X
		If YES, please explain if there is any conflict of interest and how this will be addressed		
	b)	employees/staff recruited through other businesses, voluntary or public sector organisations?	X	
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained	Organisations themselves decide if and who is allowed to participate in interviews.	
	c)	pupils or students recruited through educational institutions (e.g. primary schools, secondary schools, colleges)?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	d)	clients/volunteers/service users recruited through voluntary public services?	X	
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained	Service users are approached through the service provider. The research will be explained after which service users have the option to participate or not.	
	e)	participants living in residential care, social care, nursing homes, re-ablement centres hospitals or hospices?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	f)	recruited by virtue of their employment in the police or armed forces?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	g)	adults who are in prison, remanded on bail or in custody?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		
	h)	who may not be able to refuse to participate in the research?		X
		If YES, please explain how permission will be gained		

Online and Internet Research

Question				Yes	No
1	Will any part of your study involve collecting data by means of electronic media (e.g. the Internet, e-mail, Facebook, Twitter, online forums, etc)?				X
	If YES, please explain how you will obtain permission to collect data by this means				
2	Is there a possibility that the study will encourage children under 18 to access inappropriate websites, or correspond with people who pose risk of harm?				X
	If YES, please explain further				
3	Will the study incur any other risks that arise specifically from the use of electronic media?				X
	If YES, please explain further				
4	Will you be using survey collection software (e.g. BoS, Filemaker)?				X
	If YES, please explain which software				
5	Have you taken necessary precautions for secure data management, in accordance with data protection and CU Policy?			X	
	If NO	please explain why not			
	If YES	Specify location where data will be stored		Students personal drive on coventry Computers. Data will be encrypted and identification will be stored separately from the data.	
		Planned disposal date		31/01/2018	
		If the research is funded by an external organisation, are there any requirements for storage and disposal?			X
		If YES, please specify details			

Languages

Question			Yes	No
1	Are all or some of the consent forms, information leaflets and research instruments associated with this project likely to be used in languages other than English?			X
	If YES, please specify the language[s] to be used			
2	Have some or all of the translations been undertaken by you or a member of the research team?			
	Are these translations in lay language and likely to be clearly understood by the research participants?			
	Please describe the procedures used when undertaking research instrument translation (e.g. forward and back translation), clarifying strategies for ensuring the validity and reliability or trustworthiness of the translation			
3	Have some or all of the translations been undertaken by a third party?			
	If YES, please specify the name[s] of the persons or agencies performing the translations			
	Please describe the procedures used when undertaking research instrument translation (e.g. forward and back translation), clarifying strategies for ensuring the validity and reliability of the translation			

Laboratory/Workshops

Question			Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project involve work in a laboratory or workshop which could pose risks to you, researchers or others?			X
	If YES: If you have risk assessments for laboratory or workshop activities you can refer to them here & upload them at the end, or explain in the text box how you will manage those risks			

Research with non-human vertebrates

Question			Yes	No
1	Will any part of the project involve animal habitats or tissues or non-human vertebrates?			X
	If YES, please give details			
2	Does the project involve any procedure to the protected animal whilst it is still alive?			
3	Will any part of your project involve the study of animals in their natural habitat?			
	If YES, please give details			
4	Will the project involve the recording of behaviour of animals in a non-natural setting that is outside the control of the researcher?			
	If YES, please give details			
5	Will your field work involve any direct intervention other than recording the behaviour of the animals available for observation?			
	If YES, please give details			
6	Is the species you plan to research endangered, locally rare or part of a sensitive ecosystem protected by legislation?			
	If YES, please give details			
7	Is there any significant possibility that the welfare of the target species of those sharing the local environment/habitat will be detrimentally affected?			
	If YES, please give details			
8	Is there any significant possibility that the habitat of the animals will be damaged by the project, such that their health and survival will be endangered?			
	If YES, please give details			
9	Will project work involve intervention work in a non-natural setting in relation to invertebrate species other than Octopus vulgaris?			
	If YES, please give details			

Blood Sampling / Human Tissue Analysis

Question			Yes	No
1	Does your study involve collecting or use of human tissues or fluids? (e.g. collecting urine, saliva, blood or use of cell lines, 'dead' blood)			X
	If YES, please give details			
2	If your study involves blood samples or body fluids (e.g. urine, saliva) have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The British Association of Sport and Exercise Science Physiological Testing Guidelines (2007) or equivalent) and that they are in line with the level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			
3	If your study involves human tissue other than blood and saliva, have you clearly stated in your application that appropriate guidelines are to be followed (e.g. The Human Tissues Act, or equivalent) and that they are in line with level of risk?			
	If NO, please explain why not			

Travel

	Question		Yes	No
1	Does any part of the project require data collection off campus? (e.g. work in the field or community)		X	
	If YES: You must consider the potential hazards from off campus activities (e.g. working alone, time of data collection, unfamiliar or hazardous locations, using equipment, the terrain, violence or aggression from others). Outline the precautions that will be taken to manage these risks, AS A MINIMUM this must detail how researchers would summon assistance in an emergency when working off campus. For complex or high risk projects you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment	Interviews will take place in various locations in the west-midlands. A phone and emergency contact numbers will be carried around at all times. Supervisory team will be aware of dates, times and locations of interviews.		
2	Does any part of the project involve the researcher travelling outside the UK (or to very remote UK locations)?			X
	If YES: Please give details of where, when and how you will be travelling. For travel to high risk places you may wish to complete and upload a separate risk assessment			
3	Are all travellers aware of contact numbers for emergency assitance when away (e.g. local emergency assistance, ambulance/local hospital/police, insurance helpline [+44 (0) 2071 737797] and CU's 24/7 emergency line [+44 (0) 2476 888555])?			
4	Are there any travel warnings in place advising against all, or essential only travel to the destination? NOTE: Before travel to countries with 'against all travel', or 'essential only' travel warnings, staff must check with Finance to ensure insurance coverage is not affected. Undergraduate projects in high risk destinations will not be approved			
5	Are there increased risks to health and safety related to the destination? e.g. cultural differences, civil unrest, climate, crime, health outbreaks/concerns, and travel arrangements?			
	If YES, please specify			
6	Do all travelling members of the research team have adequate travel insurance?			
7	Please confirm all travelling researchers have been advised to seek medical advice regarding vaccinations, medical conditions etc, from their GP			